PASSMORE EDWARDS

Lending Library

PLAISTOW.

READERS' Tickets are not Transferable. No book can be issued without the presentation of the Ticket.

Wrappers are necessary to protect the Books from injury in their conveyance to and from the Library.

Books will not be entrusted to children under eleven years of age, and Readers are requested, as far as possible, to make personal application, as many accidents occur through the carelessness of messengers. This book must be returned to the **Plaistow Library.**

Any damage done to Books will be charged to the **last borrower.** Readers should therefore examine the Books on receiving them, and call attention to any fault in order that **they** may not be charged with the same. Special notice of any scribbling in the Books is desired, in order to assist in tracing and punishing the offender. Books warped by being held too near a fire will be charged for.

A Reader detaining a book beyond the time allowed for reading will be fined ONE PENNY per Week, or part of a Week such time is exceeded, and if not returned in Four Weeks from date of issue, a Printed Notice will be sent to such Reader, who will be required to defray expenses.

Readers are particularly desired to note the Dates on the Register Labels when they take out Books, in order to return or renew them in time to avoid the Fines, which are necessarily enforced.

The Lending Library is open for the delivery and return of Books from TEN o'clock in the morning until EIGHT o'clock in the evening, except on Sundays, Wednesdays, Good Fridays, Christmas Days, and other Bank Holidays, and from the 1st to the 14th August inclusive, when it is closed for Stocktaking, &c.

TIME ALLOWED FOR READING THIS BOOK,
FOURTEEN DAYS INCLUDING THE DAY OF ISSUE.
BOOKS NOT IN DEMAND MAY BE RENEWED
BY ORDER.

LONDON BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
LIBRARY SERVICE

Author

Title

BOOK STORE

Books or discs must be returned on or before the last date stamped on label or on card in book pocket. Books or discs can be renewed by telephone, letter or personal call unless required by another reader. After library hours use the Ansafone Service (01-698 7347). For hours of opening and charges see notices at the above branch, but note that all lending departments close at 1 pm on Wednesday and all libraries are closed on Sundays, Good Friday, Christmas Day, Bank Holidays and Saturdays prior to Bank Holidays.

METROPOLITAN
SPECIAL COLLECTION

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/shorthistoryofmo0000fred

A SHORT HISTORY OF MODERN ENGLAND

Edited by JAMES FAIRGRIEVE, M.A., F.R.G.S.

The
New Regional Geographies

For Secondary and High Schools

By LEONARD BROOKS, M.A., F.R.G.S.

Late Geography Master at the William Ellis School

I. THE AMERICAS. 4/-.
II. ASIA AND AUSTRALASIA. 4/-.
III. AFRICA AND EUROPE. 6/6.
Part 1. AFRICA. With Maps and Plans. 2/6.
Part 2. THE BRITISH ISLES. 2/6.
Part 3. EUROPE, including the BRITISH ISLES. With 55 Maps and Plans. 5/-.
IV. THE WORLD. (*In active preparation.*)

These volumes form a four years' geographical course for Secondary Schools. The aim of geographical teaching is taken as the training of future citizens to imagine accurately the interaction of human activities and their topographical conditions. In each of Books I to III two continents are selected for special study, and in each case one continent is in the northern, the other in the southern hemisphere. This gives many opportunities for climatic and other contrasts and comparisons. No hard and fast line is drawn between general, regional and physical geography. The whole groundwork of physical geography is covered during the course, but it is treated as subordinate to the regional studies.

In Four Books. With a large number of original Maps, Plans, and other Illustrations.

LONDON: UNIVERSITY OF LONDON PRESS, LTD.
18, WARWICK SQUARE, E.C. 4

942.0

A SHORT HISTORY OF MODERN ENGLAND

FROM TUDOR TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

57097

BY

FREDERICK BRADSHAW

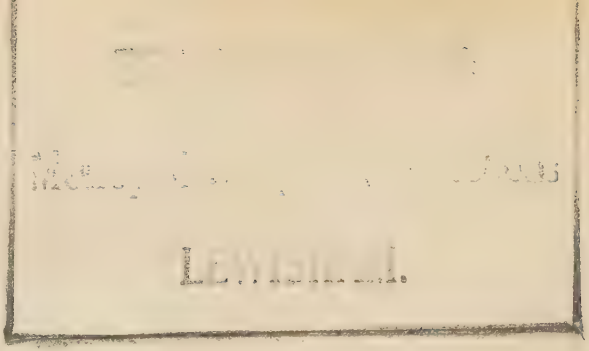
M.A. (Oxon.), D.Sc. (Lond.)

SOMETIME SENIOR HULME SCHOLAR OF BRASENOSE COLLEGE, OXFORD; LECTURER IN MODERN HISTORY AT ARMSTRONG COLLEGE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

WITH GENEALOGICAL TABLES AND MAPS

NEW IMPRESSION

London: University of London Press, Ltd.
18 WARWICK SQUARE, E.C. 4
1920



PREFACE

THIS little volume is the result of some considerable experience both as teacher and examiner in Modern History. It is designed for the use of Matriculation candidates more especially, but it is hoped that students reading for Pass examinations may find it helpful.

At the cost of occasional slight repetition the Author has told the story of the various "Periods" in such a way that the reader is able to obtain a consecutive account of, for example, the Foreign Policy of the Tudors or the Industrial Revolution and its effects. Special attention has been paid to Economic History, and an attempt has been made to trace the effect of Foreign upon English politics. The story of the last Hundred Years has been told in some detail in the belief that although the evidence may be incomplete and, despite all possible care, may be treated in not quite an impartial manner, yet no other period so deeply concerns the student of to-day. Only a small proportion even of Graduates carry their historical studies beyond the stage of Matriculation, and yet the last century, which is known least of all, saw the rise of all the great problems—Economic, Foreign, and Imperial—that perplex us to-day.

The Author desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to his colleague, Prof. Vickers, both for much helpful criticism and for kindly reading the proof-sheets.

F. BRADSHAW.

Armstrong College,
Newcastle-on-Tyne,
May 1915.

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION 1

SECTION I

THE NATIONAL MONARCHY OF THE TUDORS (1485–1603)

CHAP.

I FOREIGN POLICY. PHASE I: THE SPANISH ALLIANCE AND THE MARRIAGE TREATIES 5

II FOREIGN POLICY. PHASE II: THE BALANCE OF POWER 10

III FOREIGN POLICY. PHASE III: THE SPANISH PERIL 17

IV INTERNAL PROBLEMS. I. THE POLITICAL PROBLEM 27

V INTERNAL PROBLEMS. II. THE RELIGIOUS PROBLEM 33

VI INTERNAL PROBLEMS. III. THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEM 54

SECTION II

FROM TUDOR MONARCHY TO CROWNED REPUBLIC (1603–1688)

I THE DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS 63

II THE CAUSES OF THE CIVIL WAR 72

CHAP. PAGE
III THE PURITAN REVOLUTION 84
IV FROM RESTORATION TO REVOLUTION . . . 101

SECTION III

HOW THE PARLIAMENTARY MONARCH GOVERNED ENGLAND (1689–1832)

I THE EVOLUTION OF THE CABINET AND PRIME MINISTER. PART I 118
II THE EVOLUTION OF THE CABINET AND PRIME MINISTER. PART II 127
III THE RULE OF THE WHIG OLIGARCHY . . . 140
IV THE TORY REACTION 159
V THE YOUNGER PITT AND THE GREAT WAR . . 175
VI THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND ITS SEQUEL, ETC. 203

SECTION IV

THE AGE OF DEMOCRACY (1832–1914)

I THE MAKING OF THE DEMOCRACY . . . 223
II SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY 253
III FOREIGN POLICY 276
IV COLONIAL POLICY 298

LIST OF GENEALOGIES

PAGE

THE TUDOR CLAIM TO THE THRONE 328

THE HOUSE OF TUDOR 329

THE HOUSE OF STUART 330

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER OR BRUNSWICK . . . 331

THE HOUSE OF SAXE-COBURG 332

THE BOURBONS AND THE HAPSBURGS 333

LIST OF MAPS

TUDOR AND STUART PERIODS 335

ENGLAND AND WALES 337

THE MARCHES OF THE JACOBITES. 339

INDIA (1705, 1765, 1805, 1857) 341

NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES (1755–1763) . . . 343

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (1783) 343

INDIAN EMPIRE 345

BRITISH EMPIRE IN AFRICA 347

INDEX 349

A HISTORY OF ENGLAND

1485–1914

INTRODUCTION

It has been sometimes maintained that the history of Modern England began with the accession of the house of York. However, it is probably a truer, and it is certainly a more convenient view, to trace that beginning from the fatal field of Bosworth, when the last of the feudal nobles made their choice in favour of the house of Tudor. The victory of Henry VII gave England the rest she so sorely needed, and silently, under his strong guidance and not seldom without his knowledge, her people passed into the modern world.

The Renaissance was not a movement that can be said to have begun at any one year, and it was rather a casting-off of old ideals and beliefs than the adoption of a new view of life. Men ceased to believe in the claims of the Emperor; indeed, in England his claims were never recognized. In mediæval times the European States system was based on the belief that every baptized Christian was a member of a temporal commonwealth, of which the Holy Roman Empire was but the imperfect concrete expression. The Emperor never entirely made good the claim sanctioned by his coronation; indeed, not only the outlying lands of Christendom fell away, or refused allegiance from the first, but even in Germany his subjects qualified their allegiance and grew bolder as he grew weaker.

Side by side with the temporal Christian commonwealth grew up the papacy, with claims to supremacy over both the Emperor and his subjects. For a time great Popes, such as Hildebrand and Innocent III, appealed to Christendom by their championship of a higher law than that of the rule of force. The Church claimed to be the divinely inspired teacher of

mankind, with authority even over kings and princes. However, just as the feudal lords, who were in theory the defenders of the empire, ended by destroying it in their own interests, so the theologians and philosophers, whose task it was to explain and defend the dogmas of the Church, developed into heretics such as our own Wyclif. The strength of the Mediæval Church lay in the splendid and willing obedience of her children to the voice of authority; but with the spread of education among the laity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries questions came to be asked which could not be answered. When the Pope remained at Avignon as the "tame cat" of the Valois kings, and later when at Rome he intrigued now against a rival Pope, now against recalcitrant cardinals in council assembled, he naturally lost the willing allegiance of Christendom. By the end of the fifteenth century the moral strength of the papacy had vanished, and its spiritual authority was only exercised on sufferance, at least in most European lands. Kings pensioned their aged servants and friends by the gift of rich Church preferment, and the Popes acquiesced even when they did not rival the secular lords as Church spoilers.

Meanwhile two events, the Renaissance and the Black Death, had shaken the mediæval system to its foundations. Early in the thirteenth century the Fourth Crusade had been selfishly used by Venice to ruin the Greek Empire of the East. Short-lived as was its successor, the Latin Empire, it was long enough to give Western Europe a peep into a society organized on quite different lines, and, more important still, to supply new ideals of life. In the thirteenth century Aristotle, though mangled by a double translation from Arabic into Latin, had provided the means for scientific thought, and men speculated far beyond the limits of Aquinas. Dante could love Athens though he did not know Greek, and he and Petrarch prepared the way for the Greek teachers who poured into Italy in the early fifteenth century to seek help for their fatherland or an asylum from the Turks. Long before Constantinople fell in 1453, men had learned to love the writings of the ancient world, and though Popes might patronize the new learning it was some time before men realized that the Renaissance meant revolution. The old and the new ideals could not exist side by side. In Italy the Humanists often contemptuously discarded the Christian faith, and the movement there sank into a thinly

veiled paganism which lost the power to inspire the world; but elsewhere men used the new invention of printing to propagate a new form of Christianity, which they professed to find in the Greek Testament. They dreamed of a reformed Catholic Church, not realizing that their appeal to Greek learning and to the Greek philosophy of individualism was a challenge tc the centralized Imperial Church at Rome which it could not accept. Wyclif might found dominion upon grace or Luther defend the right of godly princes to control the Church, but the Renaissance meant the reorganization of society on new lines upon an individualistic basis, although religious reformers might in all sincerity appeal for a return to the old paths. No return to the past is ever possible, nor can statesmen or theologians lay down in advance the lines of future development.

While philosophers and scholars were shattering the ideals of the present in a vain attempt to revive the past, the whole fabric of mediæval society was falling in ruin. Wars and pestilences there had been in plenty before, but they had been local. In the fourteenth century, the Hundred Years War began a world-convulsion that ruined the old European States system. And now there was no Pope who could bid the nations make peace, for while all Western Europe was engaged in war the Turkish attack came on practically unresisted. Before the French had regained their land from the English the Turks had taken Constantinople. Not only did Mohammed II threaten the very existence of Christendom, but he and his successors actually cut off Christian Europe from the indispensable eastern trade. It is true that Vasco da Gama at last opened out a new route to India, and that Columbus gave the New World to Europe, but the benefit fell to the new maritime powers of the North and West, and not to the Mediterranean lands.

The outstanding political feature of the mediæval world was the feudal system, of which the manorial system was the economic expression. In the fourteenth century the manorial system was ruined by a series of pestilences, of which the first —the Black Death of 1347–1349—was the most important. The manorial system could not be worked after the loss of so many labourers and cattle, and the attempt by the lords to force the survivors to bear an even harsher yoke than that from which they had been gradually escaping ended, in England at least, in the Peasants' Revolt and the social Revolution of the fifteenth

century. In the towns, the guild system received a mortal wound, and the chartered towns which did not wholly succumb became the prey of little burgher oligarchies, who were themselves the tools of the King and the great nobles. In England, parliamentary government collapsed at the very moment of its triumph, and the Wars of the Roses ended by placing the nobles under the heel of the Tudors. Abroad, the evil worked its own cure in France, and to some extent in Spain. In these lands strong monarchies arose, and, as in England, crushed resistance by the new artillery, but in Italy and Germany the nobles developed into petty sovereigns. In Italy, neighbouring kings strove for supremacy during the sixteenth century, but in Germany the Reformation, synchronizing with the Emperor's wars with France and the Turks, helped the petty princes to use the Reformation as a cloak to their selfish desires for plunder and independence. The Black Death brought freedom ultimately to the descendants of those English peasants who survived, and so rendered possible the rise of a commercial middle class ready to take advantage alike of the new discoveries and of the protection of a powerful king. The Renaissance supplied England with an excuse to emphasize her already marked nationalism, while the peculiar type of her reformation for a time promised her immunity from the religious strife on the Continent. The Tudors acted well the part of national leaders, but when the nation had come to its full stature the royal power was sharply curtailed. The story of Modern England is the story of the evolution of liberty side by side with order, under the splendidly false guise of a vindication of ancient rights.

SECTION I. THE NATIONAL MONARCHY OF THE TUDORS, 1485–1603

CHAPTER I

FOREIGN POLICY. PHASE I: THE SPANISH ALLIANCE AND THE MARRIAGE TREATIES

HENRY VII obtained the throne of England by the battle of Bosworth, but his position was for many years insecure. His best title was the decision of Parliament that the inheritance of the crown was "to be, rest and abide in King Henry VII and his heirs." Other valid title he had none, for only by courtesy could he claim to represent the house of Lancaster,[1] and he refused to rule in right of his future wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV, although after his coronation he kept his promise and married her. The next Yorkist heir after Elizabeth was Edward Earl of Warwick, son of Clarence, and he was kept safely in the Tower. Unfortunately for Henry the de la Poles, nephews of his wife, one of whom, John Earl of Lincoln, had been the destined successor of Richard III, though at first unmolested, successively declared against him and fled beyond the seas. Henry's weak title to the throne affected profoundly both his home and foreign policy. If he failed to gain support at home or provoked enmity abroad, he could not hope to retain the throne despite his Yorkist marriage. Henry's adventurous life abroad and his naturally suspicious and reserved disposition fitted him admirably for his task. He had to retain the throne by diplomacy; to resist a Yorkist invasion backed by a strong continental Power would be difficult, for at first Henry had little money and dared not obtain it from Parliament. His only friend abroad was Francis Duke of Brittany, and even that friendship involved at least suspicion on the part of the French Regent. Burgundy, the traditional friend of England, had a Yorkist duchess,

[1] See Genealogical Table I. The Tudor claim to the Throne.

Margaret, sister of Edward IV, to whom the Yorkists looked for help. Luckily for Henry, Charles the Bold, the husband of Margaret, had for the moment ruined Burgundy by his defeat and death at Nancy in 1477. Burgundy was now nominally ruled by the child of their daughter Mary, known as the Archduke Philip because his father, Maximilian the Penniless, was son of the Emperor Frederick III, who ruled Austria. Louis XI had robbed Mary of some of her fairest lands, and Flanders, where Maximilian strove with Margaret for control, was the most important part of Philip's dominions.

Henry would have preferred to check Margaret by coming to terms with France. The French Regent Anne, sister of the boy-king Charles VIII, had helped Henry to invade England, but when she attempted to annex Brittany, the last semi-independent French fief, Henry felt bound in self-defence if not by gratitude to attempt to protect the Duchess of Brittany, whose father had given him a refuge from the Yorkists. He hit upon the ingenious scheme of marrying the Duchess to Maximilian, hoping thereby to close Flanders to the Yorkists and restore the old friendship of Flanders and England against France. Unfortunately Maximilian was always too late, as he could never raise money enough to carry out his grandiose schemes. Anne of Brittany was forced to disown her proxy of marriage with him and to give herself to the young French king, Charles VIII, with the rich dowry of Brittany, 1489.

Henry's position was now dangerous. It is true that in 1486 he had easily put down the rebellion of Lord Lovel, and that in 1487 Lambert Simnel, the Oxford tradesman's son, had been no more successful in his imposture as the captive Earl of Warwick although the Earl of Lincoln, head of the de la Poles, had helped him and he had found support also from Kildare and the Irish Yorkists. Henry's attempt to collect the subsidy granted for the expedition to Brittany had been resisted in the north of England, and by 1492 a fresh spurious Yorkist claimant appeared. Perkin Warbeck was a Fleming of Tournai, though he professed to be Richard Duke of York, who had been murdered together with his brother Edward V. Henry was not surprised when, after an attempt to gain support in Ireland, Perkin was invited to France.

Henry looked round for additional allies. The kingdom of Spain was now becoming important under Ferdinand of Aragon and his wife Isabella of Castile. The Spanish sove-

reigns were eager to obtain Henry's assistance against France, but when Henry did attack Boulogne in October 1492 the Spanish sovereigns busied themselves in securing their recent conquest of Granada, and Maximilian was hardly more helpful. Henry cannot be blamed for making the Treaty of Etaples on November 3, for the French not only agreed to expel Perkin, but they also paid Henry a large sum of money. The Spanish sovereigns followed Henry's example and made peace, but Henry was wise enough to realize the coming importance of Ferdinand's realm.

Driven from France, Perkin was received with open arms by his "Aunt" Margaret, and all Henry could do was to suspend the commercial intercourse between England and Flanders, much to the former's loss. Luckily for Henry, any plan of interference that might have been entertained by Maximilian was abandoned when Charles VIII of France, in 1494, made peace with Spain and Maximilian by surrendering certain disputed lands in order that he might have a free hand to invade Italy. Both Maximilian and Ferdinand looked upon the expedition with misgiving, the former as Emperor, the latter as Ruler of Sicily, and just in time Henry obtained relief.

He used the interval wisely. In 1494 he sent Sir Edward Poynings to Ireland, and Poynings forced the Irish Parliament to pass two important Acts. One of these Acts declared that all English laws then in force should be obeyed in Ireland; the other, the famous Poynings Law, stated that no Bill could be brought before the Irish Parliament until it had first received the approval of the English Council. Orders were given to fortify the English Pale—the district immediately around Dublin—and Henry was content if he could keep a firm hold on that alone.

Henry could now breathe more freely, for not only did Perkin fail to land at Deal, but he also failed in Ireland. Henry then boldly offered Kildare a free hand as Lord Deputy in return for his allegiance, and Ireland was closed to the Yorkists. In Flanders, the young Archduke Philip insisted on ruling independently of his scheming father, and gladly made the *Intercursus Magnus* with England in 1496. The old trade was restored and the Yorkists abandoned. Perkin's only refuge was Scotland, whose ambitious young king, James IV, made a plundering foray into England in the autumn of 1496. However, the English Parliament had come to realize the

value of Henry's firm rule, and not only granted him subsidies by the help of which he forced James to retreat, but also strengthened his position by securing the enactment of the famous statute which safeguarded from the penalty of treason those who obeyed the *de facto* king.

Soon James grew tired of his dangerous protégé, and used a Cornish rising against the recent subsidies as an excuse for urging Perkin to try his fortune elsewhere. Disappointed of Irish help, Perkin made a half-hearted attempt to lead the discontented Cornish, but by his cowardice fell into the hands of his rival, and after a public acknowledgment of his imposture was for a time merely confined in the Tower.

Fortune now favoured Henry. The success of Charles VIII had led Ferdinand and Maximilian to draw closer together, and in 1496 Juana, the eldest daughter of the Spanish king, was married to the Archduke Philip, while Juan, Ferdinand's son, married Mary, sister of Philip. Juan died almost at once, and Philip's son Charles became heir to the splendid inheritance of Ferdinand in Europe and the New World, as well as to the lands and claims of his father and Maximilian. Few marriages in the world's history have been more important, for it directly affected the relations of the West European Powers for over two hundred years, until the Holy Roman Empire itself passed away. As the new French king Louis XII began afresh the interference in Milan, to which he could put forth plausible claims, Ferdinand was induced to listen to Henry's proposal for a marriage between Arthur Prince of Wales and the Spanish princess Catherine of Aragon. Before the marriage actually took place in 1501, the Earl of Warwick and Warbeck were executed on a trumped-up charge of treason, undoubtedly with the object of assuring Ferdinand that Arthur's title to the crown was now quite undisputed. When Arthur died shortly afterwards, Henry and Ferdinand obtained from the Pope a papal bull stating that, as the marriage had not been consummated, Catherine might marry her young brother-in-law Henry, then aged only eleven. However, the actual ceremony was delayed.

The third and in the end the most beneficial of the royal marriages of this epoch was that of James IV of Scotland and Margaret, daughter of Henry VII, in 1502. Never did Henry show himself a wiser statesman than when he tactfully overcame all the obstacles to the match and silenced the fears of his

counsellors by saying that even if a Scottish prince did succeed to the two kingdoms, "the greater would draw the less." The marriage itself was not a perfect success, and their defeats at Flodden Field (1513) and Pinkie (1547) did not endear England to the Scots, but the Reformation, by ruining the Franco-Scottish alliance, completed the work of Henry VII, and soon the endless feud ceased and England received a staunch and useful ally instead of a dangerous neighbour when James I ascended the English throne.

Henry was not a lovable character, but England owes him a great deal. By his peaceful foreign policy he allowed the merchant adventurers to open up trade with the northern lands, and English fishermen again went as far as Iceland. It was only a chance that Columbus did not sail under the English flag to discover America, and John Cabot and his sons actually did touch Labrador under his commission before any other Europeans reached the American mainland.

Henry's last years were undisturbed by war, and in 1506 he had an unexpected piece of good fortune. The Archduke Philip was placed in his power by a storm, and had to buy his freedom by the surrender of the Earl of Suffolk, Edward IV's nephew and brother of the Earl of Lincoln, who fell at Stoke in 1487. Henry also secured a revision of the commercial treaty of 1496, which was so favourable to England that the unfortunate Flemings called it the *Intercursus Malus*—"The Evil Treaty of Intercourse."

The Spanish alliance had been the result of Henry's fear lest France should help the Yorkists, but the Spanish marriage was largely due to a desire to add Catherine's dowry to his hard-gotten treasures. Only half that dowry had been paid when Arthur died, and, fearing lest Henry would retain that portion in any case, Ferdinand pressed on the marriage with the new Prince of Wales. In 1505 Henry had actually the meanness to use the undoubtedly manufactured scruples of the boy of fourteen to postpone the formal betrothal, although the papal dispensation had been already secured. Ferdinand's wife, Isabella, had just died, and the Archduke Philip had been on his way to claim the Regency of Castile in right of his wife Juana when he fell into Henry's merciless hands. Ferdinand dared not resent Henry's outrageous behaviour, especially when Philip actually proposed that Henry, now a widower, should marry his sister Margaret. Although Philip's death

soon after his arrival in Spain delivered Ferdinand from his aggressive son-in-law, the Spanish king, in his eagerness to conciliate Henry, was even willing for Catherine to marry her aged father-in-law. Once more a dangerous enemy was removed by death, and Ferdinand anticipated little difficulty with the new king, Henry VIII, who succeeded his crafty old father in 1509.

CHAPTER II

FOREIGN POLICY. PHASE II: THE BALANCE OF POWER

At first Ferdinand's estimate of his influence over the young king was correct, for he promptly married Catherine, and indeed for many years lived happily with her, although he was six years her junior in age. In those early days neither the strong nor the evil qualities of Henry VIII were visible. His very dissimilarity from his father made him popular; handsome, gay, and friendly to all, he, thanks to his descent from York and Lancaster alike, could afford to relax his father's strict home government, although even from the first his self-will and a natural talent for choosing useful servants made him appear a strong and well-intentioned ruler. However, it was long before he understood the foreign problem—the danger that in guarding against France he might be strengthening too greatly the growing power of Spain.

Louis XII of France had on his accession in 1498 proved even more aggressive than Charles VIII, for in prosecuting his private claims to the Duchy of Milan he had been so successful that even Ferdinand and the Pope had been glad to join with him in the League of Cambray, 1508, against Venice in the hope of getting some fragments of the spoil. Henry VII had been content that his rivals should exhaust themselves by war, and had no mind to be a second time the tool of his allies. His son, however, with a full treasury and less foresight, easily fell a victim to flattery. In 1511 Ferdinand, alarmed at Louis XII's success, joined the Pope and Venice in the Holy League to drive him from Italy, and when Maximilian as emperor also became a member Henry believed that the Allies' proposal of an English attack on France would be a brilliant and easy piece of work, and a renewal of the exploits of Henry V.

Among the younger members of Henry VII's administration

was Thomas Wolsey. Son of an Ipswich grazier, he had shown great promise at school and college. Boy-Bachelor of Arts at fourteen, he had obtained a position on the staff of Magdalen College which gained him useful patrons, until finally services to Bishop Fox, the old king's minister, had brought him to the notice of Henry VII himself. So efficiently had he performed all tasks laid upon him that he won the favour of Henry VIII also, who "knew a man when he saw him," and now, in 1511, although nominally only the king's Almoner, he was quite able and willing to undertake any duty either at home or abroad. Wolsey combined an infinite capacity for detail with the power of taking a wide and sweeping view of a given situation, and the army he improvised on Henry's orders was worthy of a better fate than it met with in the south of France in 1512. Ferdinand's neglect to send the promised help was suspicious in view of his own subsequent occupation of Navarre. Certainly the second expedition, this time from Calais, was just as successful in 1513, for the battle of Guinegatte (or Spurs) enabled Henry to take Thérouenne and Tournai at his leisure.

It cannot be said that even Wolsey fully realized the true policy of England as yet, but when the Scots were only defeated with difficulty at the battle of Flodden Field in 1513, the folly of the campaign must have been more manifest. The war was expensive, and success had only been possible because Louis XII had been fighting unsuccessfully in Italy. When the warlike Julius II was succeeded by the less dangerous Leo X in 1513, the Holy League collapsed. Louis XII was willing to sacrifice Italy and Navarre to Ferdinand, and a little later gladly ended the English War by a proposal for the hand of Henry VIII's favourite sister Mary, despite the great disparity in age. It is said that the sprightliness of his unwilling bride hastened his death soon afterwards, and she married her old suitor, Charles Brandon, with such indecent haste that Henry VIII was unable to find her a fresh royal husband. The alliance with France was undoubtedly England's true policy, but Wolsey never had a free hand with a master so ambitious and strong willed as Henry VIII. The King never scrupled to make it clear that though he forced the Pope to make Wolsey cardinal and papal legate the latter was merely his servant; about the same time Wolsey became Chancellor, but again only to carry out the King's choice among the

various plans submitted by him to his royal master. In 1518 he actually did obtain an Anglo-French alliance, which became a league of universal peace by the adhesion of the Pope, Maximilian, and Charles.

Unfortunately for Wolsey, a fresh temptation to waste money assailed his master. In 1519 the Emperor Maximilian died, and although his grandson Charles, who had succeeded Ferdinand in Spain in 1516, was the obvious candidate, Francis I, the new King of France, tried to bribe the German electors to pass over Charles in his favour, and Henry VIII also insisted upon his own claims. Wolsey's position was difficult; he knew that both Charles and Francis were dangerous to England, since Francis had successfully revived the Italian War and beaten the redoubtable Swiss at Marignano in 1515, and Charles was already the master of Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands before Maximilian's death gave him the Hapsburg lands. For a moment, when Charles had gained the empire, Wolsey hoped that Henry might be induced to accept his scheme of a fresh alliance which would form a "Balance of Power" against the too-powerful Charles. However, Charles cleverly visited Henry at Canterbury before the meeting with Francis on "The Field of the Cloth of Gold," near Calais, and before Henry returned home he had a second interview with Charles at Gravelines.

Charles was a clever schemer; he dangled the papacy before Wolsey and the conquest of France before the King, and they both succumbed, although Wolsey soon had misgivings. Charles had no intention of conquering Francis for Henry's benefit, but Wolsey, despite his diplomatic wrigglings as he more and more clearly realized how costly such a war would be to England, had to see Henry and Charles ally against Francis. When the Duke of Bourbon revolted against his master Francis, Henry determined to press on to Paris, and ordered Wolsey to get money from Parliament. Although he thoroughly disapproved of the war, the minister was forced to attempt to bully the House of Commons. The grant made was inadequate, but it gained Wolsey the hatred of the taxpayers, who thought him the cause of the war. Francis once more beat off the attack, but Wolsey's diplomacy was wasted by Henry's stubbornness. However, at last even Henry grew alarmed when Francis, becoming rash with success, was defeated and captured by Charles at the siege of Pavia in 1525.

Wolsey now obtained a hearing for his own plan—an alliance with Francis—but not before both king and minister had suffered humiliation. Henry proposed to invade France, and as it was clear that Parliament would not supply the money, Wolsey was ordered to demand what was known as "The Amicable Loan" from the nation at large. Wolsey bullied the citizens of London into granting their share, but elsewhere the loan was a failure, and in some parts was met by armed resistance. The minister was for once blameless, and yet, to shield the King, he allowed men to charge him with being the proposer of the loan. Probably fear of a popular rising, quite as much as cold-blooded selfishness, induced Henry to accept the sacrifice. Wolsey cared nothing for popularity in comparison with royal support. He was allowed to negotiate an alliance with France, and although the French king obtained his freedom by promising to surrender large territories to Charles V, the latter had pressed his victory too far. The new Pope, Clement VII, formed a league against Charles, who had to face troubles at home in Germany. Even when his army captured Rome in 1527 and imprisoned the Pope, he only made more secure the Anglo-French alliance.

By a curious irony of fate Wolsey's very triumph proved his undoing. He dreamed of cementing the alliance by marriages between the King's only child Mary and Francis, or later, a son of Francis, and between Henry himself and a French princess. As early as 1521 Henry had determined to discard Catherine, perhaps not at first for wholly selfish reasons, but in the hope of obtaining the male heir she could not give him. In his anti-Lutheran "Defence of the Seven Sacraments" he had exalted the papacy in the hope that the Pope would declare void the dispensation by which he had married his brother's widow. When the matter was broached to Wolsey he made no objection, for to him Catherine represented the dangerous Imperial alliance. However, when Henry fell in love with Catherine's attendant, Anne Boleyn, Wolsey had to walk warily. His scheme for marrying Mary to a French prince was checked by a French suggestion that her legitimacy was not undoubted, and yet, when he warned Henry of the difficulty in the way of the annulment of Catherine's marriage, he offended both the King and Anne Boleyn.

Henry in 1527 insisted that the Pope should be asked to pronounce definitely as to the validity of the marriage. Probably

this case would have been no more insoluble than that of the Castilian king, Henry IV, of the preceding century, had the Pope been a free agent. However, as the prisoner of Catherine's nephew Charles V, he could only temporize. When the Legatine Commission had finally to meet, Wolsey and Campeggio, its members, were too wise to decide the matter offhand, and Catherine, after a noble appeal to the callous king, demanded that her case should be tried by the Pope himself. As Wolsey had failed him, Henry abandoned him to his enemies, led by Anne Boleyn. Wolsey could plead the King's authority for every breach of præmunire, but he was too loyal and perhaps too wise to risk such a plea. He made a complete submission, and was allowed to retire to York stripped of all his wealth and preferments save the Archbishopric. Here he won golden opinions, but unwisely he could not wait till the King, having taught him his impotence, should deign to use him again. Obscure though probably innocent intrigues with France were used by his enemies to procure his final ruin, but his death at Leicester Abbey cheated them of their prey.

Wolsey's real crime had been that he had dared to withstand Henry's desires, however feebly and tardily. The King's new servants had learnt their lesson and gave no trouble. Thomas Cromwell, son of a Putney blacksmith, was one of those "Englishmen Italianate" whom the Italian proverb described as "fiends incarnate." He had served Wolsey even to the extent of braving Henry's wrath in his cause, but he did not heed his master's warnings to fling away ambition, and he received less consideration than Wolsey.

Luckily for Henry, Charles V was too greatly hampered by his troubles with the Lutherans and the Turks, as well as by difficulties with France and the Pope, to interfere actively during the passing of the legislation that separated England from Rome and put the English Church under the heel of the King. Henry had no cause to help Francis, and even less sympathy with the Lutherans, but Cromwell, as a disciple of Wolsey, saw the danger that would ensue if Charles succeeded in ruining the Lutheran League of Schmalkalde. Henry's third wife, Jane Seymour, had died in 1537, a fortnight after giving birth to the future Edward VI, and Cromwell now proposed that Henry should take as his fourth wife Anne, sister of the Duke of Cleves, as a step towards heading a Protestant

alliance against Charles V. Misled by Holbein's flattering portrait, Henry agreed at least to marry Anne, but from the moment Henry actually saw the bride Cromwell was doomed. He had been a useful tool, but had failed a master who never forgave a blunder, and who felt he had been tricked.

Although Henry had been slow to grasp Wolsey's policy of the balance of power, he never forgot it, and before his death applied Wolsey's teaching to his own advantage. His nephew, James V of Scotland, had married a French wife, Mary of Guise, in 1538, and the Scottish clergy tried to induce him to invade the land of his heretic uncle. Naturally Henry did not desire the overthrow of Charles V, whose rival, Francis I, was the traditional ally of the Scots, and so he rejected Cromwell's suggestion of an alliance with the German Lutherans, and Charles and he drew closer together after Cromwell's fall. The renewal of the war between Charles and Francis in 1542 synchronized with the Scottish raid that ended so disastrously at Solway Moss, and Henry not only tried, first by treaty and then by force of arms, to win the new baby-queen Mary as a bride for Prince Edward, but, fearing lest Francis should take advantage of the troubles in Germany to crush Charles, he invaded France in person and captured Boulogne, 1544.

However, Charles dared not trust Henry too far, and, desiring to obtain a free hand in Germany, he made a separate peace at Crespy, 1544, and left Henry in the lurch. Francis vainly attempted an invasion of England, but before Henry died, in January 1547, he was able to extort from Francis at least a temporary renunciation of Boulogne, and the French king did not long survive his rival. Henry VII had succeeded in checking France by the help of Ferdinand, and Henry VIII had learnt by experience to use one rival against the other as opportunity served. Neither dynastic nor matrimonial troubles had permanently weakened the Tudor kings, but it must be acknowledged that the situation abroad favoured them.

The open quarrel between Francis and Henry after 1544 gave Charles a free hand in Germany. He struck down the League of Schmalkalde by a victory at Mühlberg, near Dresden, April 1547, and proceeded to centralize all power in his own hands. However, when he tried to control at once the Protestants and the Pope, one of his chief supporters, Maurice of Saxony, grew alarmed and conspired against him with the new French king, Henry II. This conspiracy, which finally forced

Charles to flee from Germany in disgrace, saved England from active interference by Charles. It is difficult to see how the Protector Somerset could have resisted an attack by the Emperor. Although he had won the useless battle of Pinkie over the Scots in 1547 in a vain attempt to bring about the wedding of Edward VI and Mary, the Scots had promptly renewed their alliance with the French, which cost England Henry's conquest of Boulogne. Somerset was glad to make peace with both nations in 1550. Next year a foolish attempt to prevent Princess Mary from hearing Mass brought a threat of invasion from Charles, and ended in a withdrawal of the prohibition. The Emperor's difficulties with the victorious Lutherans and Henry II of France gave England a further respite under Warwick's protectorship, but on Edward's death in 1553 the danger became acute.

Charles V had always realized the importance of England in his struggles with France, and had championed Mary against the Protector. Her accession occurred just too late, for before she had got full control of the country the Lutherans, under Maurice of Saxony, had ruined the Emperor's last army at Sievershausen, and even his own brother Ferdinand turned against him in the hope of depriving Charles's son Philip of the empire. Mary now determined to marry Philip, and Charles gladly supported the match. He pointed out to Philip that at all costs he must keep the friendship of England to balance the hostility of France, and he formally resigned his dominions in Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands in Philip's favour.

The marriage was celebrated in July 1554, but Philip was scarcely more enthusiastic than the English Parliament. He was jealously excluded from all direct power, and he could not remain in England long enough to influence Mary's Council. It is only fair to say that Philip was not directly to blame for the religious persecutions of the reign, and indeed seems to have played a difficult part very well. However, Philip had merely married an English wife to obtain help against France, and when he did return to Mary in 1557, it was to bring about the disastrous war that cost us Calais and helped to kill Mary. The loss was more resented by the nation because the English had already helped to defeat the French at St. Quentin, and just before Mary's death the English fleet also shared in the victory of Gravelines. Mary's loss meant more to Philip than

he realized at first. He had always protected her half-sister Elizabeth, and he never anticipated the actual course of events on the accession of the new queen.

CHAPTER III

FOREIGN POLICY. PHASE III: THE SPANISH PERIL

When Elizabeth ascended the throne in November 1558, her future was most discouraging. The treasury was empty, and the nation, soured by persecution at home and ill success abroad, would not be patient of taxation. Most of the offices in Church and State were filled by supporters of Mary and the papacy. The Queen of Scotland was also Dauphiness of France, and, according to papal ideas, the rightful Queen of England. The military forces available were small and useless, and the fleet little better. England's only ally was Philip of Spain, for whose sake she was at war with France. England had ruined herself by helping Philip to defeat France, and he had also obtained control of Italy and the papacy.

Elizabeth and Philip had not been unfriendly during Mary's reign, and there is no reason to suppose that she deliberately planned from the first a policy of hostility to Philip. On one point only was she immovable: she would not marry Philip, because such a marriage would require a papal dispensation, and until the Pope would acknowledge the legitimacy of her mother's marriage—an impossible condition in 1558—she could not accept papal supremacy. To Philip, the proposed marriage would really have been a regrettable sacrifice to duty, and he willingly temporized with the suggestion that he might advise her as to her choice of a husband. Gradually Elizabeth recognized that Philip II was bound to defend her lest Mary Queen of Scots united England, Scotland, and France against him, and when in 1559 Philip and France made peace and Calais was lost, there still remained the fact that not only could she look to French jealousy to keep Philip in check, but that Scotland was in too disturbed a state to be dangerous.

It was Elizabeth's singular good fortune that in Sir William Cecil—later Lord Burleigh—she possessed an adviser who understood the situation and shared her peculiar detached views on the religious problem. Probably by temperament

the Queen had more sympathy with the sensuous side of Catholicism than her minister had, but both recognized that any modification of Henry VIII's settlement must be on the side of further approximation to the Reformation. Elizabeth could protest to Philip with perfect truth that she was no heretic, but she could not take part in the Council of Trent, while Philip or the Pope could sway its verdict. The ruler of England was an absolute monarch—that is, one who knew no earthly superior, and for thirty years Elizabeth and Burleigh worked in their different and often devious ways to the common end of postponing the challenge of any possible superior until they were more ready to meet it. Elizabeth's policy, both foreign and ecclesiastical, finds its key in this plan of consolidating England's internal unity and in dividing its external foes.

Scarcely had Henry II of France signed the Treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis with Philip of Spain than he died, and for a few brief months Mary Queen of Scots was also Queen of France. Then the young girl, being left a widow in a land where she had few friends, returned to Scotland, where her difficulties were hardly less. During Mary's absence, the Regent for many years was Mary of Guise, her mother, but, as she favoured the bishops, the fierce Scottish nobles professed to embrace the Reformation. The Lords of the Congregation, as they were afterwards called, proceeded impartially to plunder the Church and defy the Crown, and though John Knox, who returned from Geneva in 1559, did his best to emphasize the religious side of the movement and to save some of the spoil of the Old Church for religion and education, the more ugly aspect became so prominent that the Regent sent for troops from France. In alarm, the lords appealed to Elizabeth, and she sent them just enough aid to expel the French troops on the Regent's death. By the treaty of Edinburgh in 1560, Elizabeth's title to England was acknowledged, and Scotland was left at the mercy of the reformers.

When Mary returned in 1561 she cleverly passed over the frowns of Knox and the preachers, and by her affability quickly won a party among the nobles. The reformers became alarmed, but found Elizabeth not too sympathetic. She detested Knox, whose book on the "Monstrous Regiment of Women" had offended her, and she hoped to turn Mary from the French Alliance. Mary, as a member of the Guise family, had little in common with Catherine de Medicis, who ruled

France in the name of her son Charles IX, but as a good Catholic she distrusted Elizabeth's religious policy, and resented the rather patronizing attitude of the English queen. Not only did Mary refuse to marry the latter's favourite, Leicester, but she actually did marry her own cousin Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, one of Elizabeth's subjects, in defiance of that queen in 1565.

Mary undoubtedly hoped to restore the royal authority by allying with Highland chieftains who had not accepted the Reformation. For a time she was fairly successful, but Darnley ruined both himself and Mary. The Queen of Scots could win men's allegiance by her perfect mastery of all the arts of allurement, but her strong femininity caused her to seek more congenial society than that of her coarse and foolish husband. Some of the nobles cleverly parted husband and wife by helping him in the brutal murder of Rizzio, Mary's secretary and favourite. Mary outwardly became reconciled to her husband, and in the same year she gave birth to the future James I, an event which was in itself a triumph both over her rival Elizabeth and her own turbulent nobles. Actually, a new favourite appeared on the scene. James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, was far from being a mere brutal border noble, but ambition on his part and desire for revenge on Mary's led to an unholy alliance between them. Within a year Darnley's house, Kirk o' Field, near Edinburgh, had been blown up with gunpowder, and he himself murdered as he attempted to escape. Of Bothwell's intentions there can be no doubt, but despite the doubtful evidence of the Casket Letters, the best verdict in Mary's case is perhaps that of "not proven." Unfortunately for her she fell into Bothwell's power, and allowed him to marry her despite all obstacles.

Her enemies among the nobles defeated Bothwell at Carberry Hill and imprisoned Mary. When she escaped to the west she was again defeated at Langside, and only by almost incredible endurance did she escape to Carlisle. Bothwell had fled beyond the seas, and Mary, denying all charges, asked Elizabeth to restore her to her rights. Elizabeth's behaviour was not noble; for nineteen years she kept Mary—"the Daughter of Debate"—a state prisoner under varying degrees of rigour. The innocence or guilt of the Queen of Scots did not concern Elizabeth. The next heirs to the crown by the will of Henry VIII were Catherine and Mary Grey, descen-

dants of his favourite sister Mary. However, not only were they unsuitable for personal reasons, but, like their sister Lady Jane Grey, they were strong Protestants, and Elizabeth could not afford to offend the Roman Catholics. She desired that Mary should adopt the Anglican Church system in Scotland and acquiesce in the position of heir apparent to the English crown. Probably Mary's refusal was due quite as much to religious scruples as to political ambition, but the position of a dependent of England, though in name a queen, could have no attraction to the Queen of Scots.

Elizabeth could never understand purely religious motives, especially in royal personages. She saw in Mary a helpless rival and the actual centre of plots against herself. English Romanists called in Spanish and papal aid, and brought Mary into conflict with Elizabeth's determination that no foreign monarch should interfere in England. When Mary listened to them, Elizabeth came to regard her captive merely as a weapon to bring the Scottish regents to heel, and fortune placed in her hands other weapons against France and Spain.

Scarcely had Mary arrived in England than the Netherlands revolted from their ruler, Philip II of Spain. Ostensibly, first Charles V and then Philip had attempted to put down the reformed doctrines there by creating fresh bishoprics and establishing a branch of the Inquisition despite the protests of the people, who pleaded their charters. Actually, Philip was seeking to strengthen the royal authority in the Flemish provinces so as to be able to secure more money for his wars. Loyal nobles who protested, such as Egmont and Horn, were put to death by Philip's new viceroy, the ruthless Duke of Alva, but this cruelty only led the Netherlanders to unite under the Prince of Orange, the famous William the Silent, and seek for allies abroad. Elizabeth had no sympathy with rebels and little with Calvinists, as the extreme reformers were called, but she saw in the rising a new weapon against Philip.

Affairs in France also helped her. The Calvinists of France were largely the inhabitants of the large towns, but their cause was taken up by the turbulent nobles as in Scotland. From 1566-1570 France was torn by the so-called "Wars of Religion." Catherine de Medicis, the Regent for Charles IX, disliked the Catholic Guise faction little less than that of the Calvinists or Huguenots headed by Admiral Coligny, and when a truce was made in 1570 she saw with alarm that either the Duke of

Guise or Coligny would gain control of the weak king. When Coligny had all but persuaded Charles IX to help the Netherlanders against Philip II, Catherine allowed the Guise faction to carry out the massacre of St. Bartholomew, August 24, 1572. Paris was thronged with Huguenot leaders who had come to the marriage of Charles's sister Margaret with the Huguenot prince Henry of Navarre, and many were victims of this mad crime. The result was disastrous for Catherine: not only did a fresh civil war break out, but she herself, fearing the Guise faction, had to cringe to Elizabeth lest Philip of Spain should interfere.

Elizabeth had undoubtedly fanned the Huguenot discontent in France and had even temporarily held Norman seaports. She had treated in a very cavalier fashion the wooing of the French Duke of Anjou, and she was actually excommunicated by the Pope. However, when Charles IX died mad and Elizabeth's old suitor, the Duke of Anjou, became king as Henry III, his brother Alençon in turn appeared as Elizabeth's suitor. The internal situation in France was such that Elizabeth's outrageous treatment of Alençon had to be patiently endured, and, feeling sure that France was no longer dangerous, Elizabeth turned her attention more particularly to Philip and the Netherlands.

Burleigh desired that England should intervene actively against Philip as soon as possible, but Elizabeth had no generous feelings towards the "Beggars of the Sea," as the Dutch were called. Failure against Philip would be ruin, and, moreover, war was too expensive. It is perhaps true to say that in the end Elizabeth's native caution developed into a Micawber-like procrastination which would have been fatal against any other rival than Philip, but the long peace helped to unite the nation and accumulate its resources. Meanwhile Elizabeth had secretly encouraged the half-commercial, half-piratical expeditions of seamen such as Hawkins and Drake, which, under the pretext of avenging Spanish treachery at San Juan d'Ulloa, had taken a heavy toll of the wealth of the Indies. Not only did Elizabeth share the spoil, but she found that the system was creating a race of hardy seamen who had beaten the Spaniards until they had taught the English nation to despise the Spanish peril.

Despite the renewed religious wars in France, Philip was reluctant to act against Elizabeth, though he made an especially

strong protest when Drake returned in triumph to London after a two years' voyage round the world in which he had not only plundered the coasts of South America, but had even dared to sail across the Pacific Ocean. Elizabeth gave Philip smooth words, but she accepted a portion of the spoil from Drake, and knighted him for his achievement in 1580. Neither sovereign really trusted the other, and Philip did nothing to prevent the Jesuit Mission of Campion and Parsons to spread treason in England in 1580. He was not without hope that James VI of Scotland might be won over, and he certainly was largely responsible for the trouble in Ireland.

English difficulties with Ireland had always existed, but they had been intensified by the Reformation. Henry VII had been content to buy Kildare's loyalty by conceding him full control, but when Henry VIII broke with the papacy he had to take more active measures. In 1534 Henry quarrelled with the Geraldines, the Anglo-Norman clan of Kildare, and next year sent Skeffington to batter down with artillery their strong castle of Maynooth, which threatened Dublin. All the adult males of the Kildare family were killed, and in 1536 Lord Leonard Grey, the new deputy, forced the Irish Parliament to pass legislation intended to anglicize the Irish both within and without the Pale. Not only were the native language, dress, and customs proscribed, but the Archbishop of Dublin, a pliant tool, used the armed strength of the Crown to carry out a reformation of the Church in all parts of the island far more drastic than the corresponding changes in England, although the people were less prepared for it either by desire or education.

Not only was an Irish Act of Supremacy passed in 1536, but Henry six years later summoned the Irish chiefs to a Parliament which was supposed to represent the whole island. He proclaimed himself King of Ireland, and, conferring English titles upon the native chiefs, attempted to buy their allegiance to the New Order in Church and State by loading them with the spoil of the monasteries. Peace only lasted until there was no more plunder to seize. Then the chiefs rejoined the faith of their clansmen, and the English Government could not out of the Irish revenue maintain a permanent force strong enough to secure their obedience. The Edwardian Reformation awakened no sympathy in Ireland, and the English Government was glad to abandon large authority to

the tribal chieftains. This wise if unheroic policy of conciliation was foolishly altered by Mary's Lord Deputy, the Duke of Sussex. He drove the native septs from the district now known as King's County and Queen's County, and replaced them by a "Plantation" of English settlers. By the irony of fate the agrarian problem of Ireland, so often mistaken for a religious problem, actually began in the reign of a Roman Catholic sovereign.

Although Elizabeth nominally extended her religious settlement to Ireland, she was too cautious as well as too penurious to seek to enforce real obedience. However, in Ulster the powerful Papist clan of the O'Neills was torn by internecine strife, and the anti-English victor, Shane O'Neill, became so defiant that only his murder by a rival clan saved him from attack by the Lord Deputy Sidney. An attempt was made to colonize Antrim with Protestants, but failure resulted, and Elizabeth was content to allow the Ulster clans to ruin each other by civil war. She had to face a far more serious trouble in the south, where Spanish soldiers and Jesuits raised the Munster Geraldines, headed by the Earl of Desmond, against her in 1579. The small English army put down the rising with savage ferocity, and Munster was "planted" with English colonists, among whom were Raleigh and the poet Edmund Spenser, 1584. The "Plantation" was ruined by a fresh rebellion, which in turn invited reprisals. The Irish were really fighting for their lands and tribal independence, but the struggle made the peasantry fervent Roman Catholics, as the priests became their most trusted leaders and almost their sole link with the Continent and England's enemies. To Philip, they were useful allies against the Queen, who was one of the chief supports of the Dutch rebels.

Meanwhile affairs in the Low Countries troubled Philip greatly. Alva's cruelties had failed to put down the rising, and though Don John of Austria had conciliated the Roman Catholic provinces of the south, he had met an early death through the jealousy of, if not by the actual orders of, his half-brother Philip II. The new governor, Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, could do little more than hold the southern provinces, and the assassination of William of Orange in 1584 had alarmed both Elizabeth and France. William's son Maurice obtained definite help from England, and at last Philip reluctantly admitted that he must take securities for

Elizabeth's future behaviour. It is quite possible that he had no definite intention of replacing her by Mary Stuart, whom he disliked, and that he merely built the Armada as a threat to give her an excuse to surrender certain Dutch towns she held and abandon the Dutch cause. However, in 1586 Walsingham tricked Mary into sanctioning the Babington plot to murder Elizabeth, and she was tried and put to death despite Elizabeth's hesitation in 1587. Naturally Pope Sixtus V blessed the proposed Armada, and the situation became so alarming that Elizabeth finally allowed Drake to "singe the King of Spain's beard" so effectively at Cadiz that the Armada could not sail for another year.

Philip had delayed too long. His only good admiral, Santa Cruz, died before the expedition sailed, and Philip replaced him by a courtier, the Duke of Medina-Sidonia, despite his frank protests as to his unsuitability. The Spanish ships were little better than high-castled transports crammed with soldiers and deficient in sailors. They were of unequal rates of speed, and for the most part were armed with guns even more inferior to the English artillery than the gunners were to the rival gun-crews. Philip probably never understood that, despite Elizabeth's parsimony, Hawkins, as Treasurer of the Navy, had formed the nucleus of a most efficient fighting fleet that could be swollen to a formidable size by volunteer additions. The English ships lay low in the water, were manned very largely by crews used to fighting at sea, and were not only gun for gun superior to the Spanish vessels, but could also manœuvre better and sail several points nearer to the wind. Probably the Spanish fleet was also inferior in actual numbers, but a very large proportion of the English volunteer fleet consisted of quite small vessels useless in an ordinary sea-fight.

Philip's orders were that the fleet should not fight, but act as a convoy for Parma's army of invasion. Elizabeth boldly appealed to the nation as a whole, and entrusted the command of the fleet to a reputed Papist, Lord Howard of Effingham, who was fortunate in his lieutenants, Drake and Hawkins. Happily for England the land army at Tilbury was not called upon to fight, for although Drake and Hawkins were windbound in Plymouth and unable to attack the Spaniards at first, they cleverly allowed the Invincible Armada to sail before the wind unmolested until it had got too far into the Channel to turn back in flight. The Armada's fate was sealed from the

moment it tried to carry out Philip's orders in face of men like its veteran opponents. Straggler after straggler fell a helpless prey, and even those who kept in the stately crescent of the main body could neither avoid the deadly pounding on the water line nor make any effective reply with guns that could not fire astern and could not be depressed. Driven by fire-ships from Calais in a helpless, huddled mass, the Armada caught the full force of a storm from the south. Only a few English commanders troubled to pursue, for the Queen's parsimony had not provided sufficient powder and shot. The Armada suffered its greatest losses in the wild, despairing rush before the storm round the north of Scotland and the west coast of Ireland. Few things in Philip's life became him more than his sympathetic greeting to the half-starved crews who brought the few battered hulls back to Spain. As he said, the disaster indeed was not merely the work of men.

It is difficult to realize all the results of the Armada's failure. For one hundred years no foreign enemy dared to plan an invasion of England. Elizabeth could at last breathe freely. The Dutch were safe, for Parma's expedition against Henry IV of France had really helped him to beat the League by showing its anti-national character, and won English and French aid for Maurice of Nassau. Three years after Parma's death in 1592, Philip gladly handed over the Southern or Spanish Netherlands as a dowry to his daughter Isabella, wife of the Archduke Albert, but the Northern, or Protestant Netherlands, were nominally at war with Spain till Philip's successor made the twelve years' truce in 1609.

Naturally the English seamen were eager to attack the beaten foe. Philip's new conquest, Portugal, was threatened, and the Spanish port of Corunna was sacked. A new Armada was dispatched, but again the elements fought against Spain, and finally an English expedition under Effingham, Raleigh, and Essex captured Cadiz itself in 1596 in revenge for assistance sent by Philip to the Ulster rebels under O'Neill. English sea-power prevented Spanish help from being dangerous, while at the same time it hastened on Philip's bankruptcy by steady pressure in America. Philip had to fortify the towns on the Spanish Main, and though Hawkins and Drake were both dead by 1595—the latter largely from chagrin at his failure before Panama—the plundering never ceased. In the same year Raleigh, not content with founding Virginia in defiance

of Spain, sailed up the Orinoco, and, before his return to England, secured the cost of the expedition at the expense of Philip.

Naturally Philip continued his intrigues in Ireland, where zeal for Roman Catholicism and hatred for the English were leading the once hostile clans to unite. In 1598 Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, raised Ulster, while the Earl of Desmond returned from exile and headed a rebellion in Munster. Elizabeth made one of her few mistakes when she entrusted the task of suppressing the rising to the showy and incompetent Earl of Essex, who aspired to succeed his step-father Leicester as the Queen's favourite. Essex so mismanaged affairs that at last he returned home without orders, and a few years later, in 1601, was executed for heading a rising in London in a vain attempt to regain his old position at court. His successor, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, ruthlessly suppressed the Irish rebellion despite the aid which Philip sent. The Irish were literally starved into submission, and just before Elizabeth's death O'Neill had to sue for pardon.

However, it was not till the reign of James I that Ulster was really "planted" by the English. The King attempted to introduce English laws and lessen the power of the chiefs. He did not please their followers as he hoped by the offer of protection against the chiefs, but he drove the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell to flee to Spain in 1607, as resistance was hopeless. James, claiming to be King of all Ireland and their overlord, confiscated all the land of the six Ulster counties on the pretext of their rebellion, although by Irish law the land belonged to the clansmen and not to the chiefs. Unfortunately he would not listen to the wise plan of his deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, and give the best land to the natives under English titles. Instead, he drove them to the inferior lands, and planted the more fertile counties of the north-east with English and Scottish settlers, who formed an alien garrison and despised the natives as being at once a conquered race and ignorant Papists. Naturally the natives remained sullenly hostile.

When Elizabeth died in 1603 England was at the height of her glory. She had used Spain to prevent the overthrow of the house of Tudor by France, and she had balanced France against Spain until each had become too weak to be

dangerous. The strong sentiment of nationality fostered by the Tudor sovereigns had made the nation willing to entrust large powers to the Crown for the sake of national security. The Tudors did their work well, and England was not only secure from attack, but also flourishing at home.

CHAPTER IV

INTERNAL PROBLEMS. I. THE POLITICAL PROBLEM

The task before the Tudors was to restore order, so that the national life should be no longer trammelled by the feuds of the nobility or threatened by invasion from abroad. The Lancastrian constitutional experiment had not been a success, for Henry IV had been compelled to surrender the royal power to an aggressive but not well instructed Parliament. In this Parliament the nobles wholly controlled the House of Lords, as they monopolized many of the richest abbeys and bishoprics, and could, when necessary, also control the House of Commons by intimidating both the constituents and the members by their armed retainers.

Henry VII realized that the King must possess at once the goodwill of his subjects, and also the means for exacting obedience. He copied Richard II's custom of maintaining a small standing army, but avoided his mistake of attempting to supersede Parliament. He also took care to secure a monopoly of the new artillery and hand-guns which had been so useful to the Yorkists. The nobles who survived after Bosworth were not so few as is sometimes supposed, but many of them were too old or too young to cause trouble, and others were at first abroad. The rest were given a taste of the new king's quality when he successively defeated the rebellions of Lovel and Lambert Simnel, and then procured from Parliament the famous Act of 1487.

This Act did not establish a new jurisdiction, but was merely a regularization and acceptance by Parliament of claims which had already been allowed before to the King's Council. By tradition the *Magnum Concilium*, represented by the House of Lords, had possessed the widest possible jurisdiction over powerful law breakers, and the smaller Privy Council that began to appear in the thirteenth century

certainly possessed appellate jurisdiction. When the Lancastrian kings agreed to nominate its members in Parliament, they were able to procure statutes conferring special powers upon it. Margaret of Anjou had attempted to regain control of the council without surrendering the special powers, and, after Bosworth, Henry had no difficulty in persuading Parliament to give statutory sanction to a court composed of the chief officers of state to try powerful offenders who interfered with the course of justice by means of retainers, or were in other ways dangerous to the peace. At first, all the members of the new court except two judges were also members of the King's Privy Council, and the Tudor kings, almost from the passing of the amending statute of 1529, cleverly confused the two legally separate bodies in a court, which obtained the name of the Star Chamber from its place of session. The so-called Star Chamber seems to have been in practice identical with the more important members of the Privy Council, through whom, as the Council of State, the Tudors governed.

The Star Chamber filled the coffers of Henry VII and his successors, as it could punish only by fine and imprisonment, and generally preferred the former. At first, it was decidedly popular, for its heaviest penalties fell upon powerful offenders, and very few people objected to the straining of the constitutional authority of the Royal Council in so good a cause. Various changes were introduced in the sixteenth century, and certainly under Elizabeth and her two successors the Star Chamber came to be a court, composed of certain members of the Privy Council with expert lay assessors, which exercised all the criminal jurisdiction claimed by the Privy Council before 1487, although its statutory as opposed to its traditional authority rested on the Act of that year.

The sixteenth century was the age of government by council. It was important that the Executive should be able to act quickly and as far as possible untrammelled by Parliament. In 1537 the Council of the North was established to keep order beyond the Trent after the religious insurrections such as the Pilgrimage of Grace, and in 1543, when Henry remodelled the organization of Wales, he replaced the old arrangements by the Council of Wales and the Marches. The members of these councils, even when natives of the district, were directly under royal control. To some extent they

justified their existence by preserving order, but although they, like the Star Chamber, were used freely by private individuals who desired speedy settlement of claims against powerful adversaries, cases of oppression undoubtedly occurred and grew more numerous in Stuart times, when men ceased to need so powerful a monarchy.

The Tudor kings deliberately based their authority upon the affection of the country gentry and the commercial classes in the towns, both of whom desired peace. From this middle class, soon to become so powerful, the Tudors chose certain members, upon whom they bestowed titles and created a new aristocracy to balance the old. The remains of the old baronage, cowed by the King's military power or crippled by fines, gave little trouble. The lesser gentry, as justices of the peace, held a civil commission from the King under which they not only put down crime, but also warned against or punished incipient disorder. At their head was the royal Chancellor, but they eventually came into close relations with the new royal official, the Lord Lieutenant of the County, who, created by Henry VIII to be his direct representative among the local gentry, had by the year 1549 superseded the sheriff in the control of the militia, the only armed force of the shire. Sitting in Quarter Sessions, the justices of the peace superseded the Shire Court both in jurisdiction and administration. After the fall of the monasteries and the consequent cessation of their local duties, the justices of the peace became the "general servants" of the State, as successive statutes laid upon them the care of such local services as were found to be indispensable.

The Tudors never forgot that the mediæval kings had lost their power because, by their poverty, they had been unable to coerce the nobles or resist the demands of the Commons. Henry VII was careful even to meanness, and he filled his exchequer by the most doubtful methods. The Star Chamber fines and the confiscations justified by rebellion were not enough. Morton, his chancellor, won an unenviable reputation by his famous "Fork," from whose prongs the man who lived quietly had as little chance of escape when asked to contribute a benevolence to the King as the most extravagant courtier, if once his wealth was suspected. It was useless to plead the statute of the usurper Richard III against benevolences before a king who would rather marry his daughter-in-law than surrender her dowry, and willingly tolerated the

illegalities of ministers such as Empson and Dudley for the sake of gain.

Henry VIII was an apt pupil in the art of filling the royal treasury, despite his extravagances. Not satisfied with the spoil of the Church and her champions, he debased the coinage and twice forced Parliament to free him from the duty of paying his debts. Edward VI's protectors robbed the guilds and still further debased the coinage until Elizabeth had to call in the bad money as the only way to save English trade. All the Tudors exacted benevolences on various pretexts. Elizabeth had to put the best face on her misdeeds, which perhaps her precarious position somewhat extenuated, and she sometimes did eventually repay the loans. However, the recusancy fines and the penalties imposed on all who threatened her religious settlement were balanced by unblushing robbery of the Church under specious schemes of exchange. The poor remnant of the Church spoil did not go far, nor could the sale of Crown lands nor her share in the spoil of the Indies meet all her debts. She left a heavy financial burden to her less thrifty successors, although it is only fair to say that the Queen's personal extravagance was not very largely responsible for the deficit. There had been a heavy rise in prices, due to the influx of American bullion, concurrently with a steady increase in the cost of administration.

The financial difficulties of the Tudors were aggravated by their attitude towards Parliament. Henry VII called Parliament as seldom as possible lest requests for money might force him to share power with the members. He possessed tonnage and poundage for life, and, by straining the law against the wealthy, he accumulated a full treasury. The House of Lords had ceased to be dangerous, and the House of Commons was glad to escape taxation. In the early part of his reign, Henry VIII followed his father's plan and troubled Parliament as little as possible. Wolsey, as Lord Chancellor, was responsible for the management of affairs, and between 1515 and 1523 Parliament did not meet. The case of Richard Strode in 1512 had been followed by an Act fully confirming the right of freedom of speech to members, and when in 1523 Wolsey tried to bully the House of Commons into making a grant, he was nobly defied by the Speaker, Sir Thomas More.

It is significant that no further Parliament was called till 1529, when Henry, realizing the failure of Wolsey's attempt

to govern without popular support, decided to carry out the Reformation (which in his reign merely affected the administration and not the creed of the Church) outwardly at least by constitutional methods. Authorities differ as to the extent to which the Parliament of 1529 was packed, but it is difficult to believe that Henry VIII would in so important a crisis act contrary to custom and leave the electors entirely free. Certainly there was a most suspicious unanimity of opinion between the King and the Commons in view of the objection taken in the country to some of Henry's measures. Whether formally packed or not, Henry's later Parliaments were certainly most subservient, despite the regular demand for freedom of speech. In 1539 they enacted that the King's Proclamation should have the force of law, and the proviso they inserted hints at a distasteful coercion. In 1529 and 1544 they released the King from his debts. The position of Parliament under Edward VI and Mary was even more galling; elections were more or less a farce when held, but even Mary's Parliaments gave signs of the coming trouble by their attempts to go counter to the royal will.

Elizabeth's position was most difficult. Since the Reformation Parliament had abolished the mitred abbots and placed the bishops' votes at the disposal of the Crown, the House of Lords had been quite harmless. However, in 1558 the bishops and a portion of the temporal peerage were bitterly hostile to the Queen, and although by the usual means a fairly pliable House of Commons was obtained, it soon became clear that the Elizabethan religious compromise was not really satisfactory to the middle-class oligarchy, who alone could raise their voice in the House of Commons. The Members of Parliament, although generally on the Queen's side, had to be sharply rebuked in 1571 for meddling with matters of state not propounded to them, the case in point being the proposal of Strickland to reform the Prayer Book. Three times Peter Wentworth suffered imprisonment, in 1576, 1587, and 1593, for persistence in taking too wide a view of the scope of his privileges and of the rights of Parliament.

It is, however, possible to exaggerate the differences between the Queen and her Parliaments. Certainly for long intervals no Parliament met; between 1566 and 1571 the question of her marriage made it dangerous for her to meet the Commons, and after 1588 she only called Parliament four times in the

remaining fifteen years of her reign. However, when danger from abroad threatened, or she feared internal trouble, Elizabeth felt that she could safely throw herself upon her people's loyalty. The House of Commons was the Tudors' barometer by which they kept in touch with the feeling of the country. If the opposition in the Commons grew too strong, it was always possible to soothe members by a gracious unofficial explanation through the mouth of a secretary, or, in the last resort, by a personal appearance of the Sovereign. Elizabeth found that her presence rekindled the loyalty of the members as well as calmed their objections. The privilege of returning members to Parliament was only conferred by royal writ. Elizabeth lavishly created fresh seats, whose members she could influence, especially in the Royal Duchy of Cornwall, as the opposition grew more pronounced. However, at times even the Cornish members objected, nor could the loyalty of those courtiers who controlled other pocket-boroughs always guarantee the Queen a subservient House of Commons.

The real source of Elizabeth's authority lay neither in her manipulation of elections nor in her management of members, but in the firm conviction of her subjects that she was essential to their national unity and personal liberty. The Puritan enthusiast cheered for her as he underwent punishment for defying her, and the Romanist gentry preferred the Recusancy laws to the victory of the Armada. The Queen amply repaid their trust, and in her the spirit of nationality became incarnate and evoked a loyalty which welded together all classes and creeds into one vigorous English nation. Even her weaknesses and foibles helped her; by womanly coquetry, carried at times to a ridiculous extreme, she encouraged the personal devotion of foolish courtiers who might have found more dangerous employment, and her real and splendid virility appealed to men of a nobler mould. The Leicesters and Hattons of her court might have her smiles, but in the sterner business of ruling she listened to Burleigh even when she did not always accept his counsel, and she encouraged men like Drake and Raleigh, Hawkins and Frobisher to discuss their plans with her, and accepted gracefully the praise which was not always undeserved when their schemes were successful. The middle classes and common people saw in her a gracious lady, who provided them with splendid pageants at the expense of her nobles, and zealously protected them against powerful oppres-

sors. The social and economic legislation of the reign appeared to them as her work, and the resulting prosperity as the result of her care for her people.

Elizabeth was probably the most human of the Tudors and the best disposed towards her subjects. Her half-sister Mary, under happier auspices, might have rivalled her, but would probably have lacked the gift of inspiring enthusiasm. Elizabeth never let herself get completely out of touch with the nation, and she never ceased to be popular with the justices of the peace, who could make or mar the county elections for her, or with the townspeople, to whom she looked for money. She might grant monopolies when she could not afford to reward her servants with gold, and she might add impositions to the customs duties on the weakest legal excuse, but when the crisis came in 1601 and the House of Commons sternly demanded that monopolies should cease, she knew how to calm the storm. It would not be just to accuse her of lying to her faithful Commons when she maintained that she had not before realized how injurious monopolies could be. Lies were never disdained by her in dealing with her enemies, but it would be against the whole trend of her life to sacrifice the State's interest to her courtiers when she had sacrificed to the State her own hope of domestic happiness by marriage. Certainly her people believed her and the monopolies were abolished. When she was dead the House of Commons declared that in consideration of her sex and age and great services to the nation they had acquiesced in the exercise by her of great authority, but that they must now claim again their rights. The Tudors had done their work, but it was Elizabeth who first taught English monarchs to have their throne

"Broad-based upon the people's will."

CHAPTER V

INTERNAL PROBLEMS. II. THE RELIGIOUS PROBLEM

When Henry VII ascended the throne the religious problem was not apparent. The Lancastrian kings had allied with the Church against the Lollards, and now only a few heretics remained, for the most part obscure men content to skulk

into safety and generally unmolested in the greater political struggle. The Church was now in practice dependent upon the King, who used its chief ministers as his officials, or rewarded faithful servants with its richest sees. The Pope had sunk into an Italian princeling, warring or intriguing to extend his temporal dominions. The Renaissance came to England in its noblest form. Archbishop Warham gave the great Dutch scholar Erasmus a pension, and the influence of Erasmus could be seen in the attitude of men like Linacre, the King's physician, Grocyn, the scholar, and Colet, the London merchant's son, who used his wealth so nobly to found St. Paul's School. These English scholars—known as the Oxford Reformers—tried hard to induce their University to favour the study of Greek that men might learn the true meaning of the New Testament. Two other great men, Wolsey the statesman and Sir Thomas More the lawyer, joined in the movement, which aimed at reforming the Church from within by educating her clergy and abolishing administrative abuses.

It would have been well for England if Wolsey had been more heroic. It was not enough to disendow small and useless monasteries and build schools and colleges with the money. The minister was himself an example of one of the worst abuses. He accumulated benefice upon benefice and gave none of them his service. For the few brief months at York before his death he showed the Church how useful he might have been to her under happier auspices. Instead of wholehearted service he gave her the fag-end of the time that could be snatched from the King, who in the end left him "naked to his enemies."

In the early days of Henry VIII's reign other kinds of reform were being preached in England. London's commerce had introduced her to Lutheranism in various forms, and the few Lollards who yet remained seemed to have found new allies. By 1526 they had been joined by some of the poorer clergy, and had formed a society called "The Christian Brotherhood." The committee sat in London and managed the subscribed funds, with which Testaments were bought and scattered over the country by paid agents. Wolsey's scheme of reform was thus opposed by the more ignorant churchmen and also by these new enthusiasts, who used the printing press lavishly. As to Wolsey's good intention there can be no doubt, and even when he persecuted the heretics he was far milder in

his methods than the philosophic More who succeeded him as chancellor.

Wolsey was one of the few men of his day who really saw the religious problem in its true proportions. His foreign policy had been to preserve peace so that he could improve trade, and, like Henry VII, he looked forward to the union of England and Scotland. However, his efforts really were all directed to the solution of the internal problems of Government and Church, and it was unfortunate that he felt himself bound to support the King against Parliament, for it made him unable to evoke popular enthusiasm for his own view of ecclesiastical reform through education rather than by revolution. Wolsey might have reformed the English Church had he been more conciliatory to those who, like himself, believed in the New Learning and had he satisfied Henry on the divorce question. The King to a certain extent sympathized with Wolsey's scheme of educating the clergy, but the appearance of Anne Boleyn, maid-of-honour to Catherine of Aragon, his queen, extinguished any generous sentiments, and the reformers were at hand, headed by Cromwell, to show him a speedier way to the attainment of his own personal desires.

It is of course a mistake to say that the King's desire to divorce Catherine caused the English Reformation, but it certainly largely determined that Reformation's character, to the ruin of Wolsey's more statesmanlike proposals. We may perhaps judge Henry too harshly, for it seems clear that neither Wolsey nor the Pope opposed the divorce on moral grounds : the former merely proposed that Henry should gain French support by offering to replace Catherine by a French princess, while the latter never ceased to seek a solution pleasing to Henry until Catherine's nephew Charles took him prisoner. Wolsey should have taken warning from his knowledge of the King and the papacy. Even in 1515, when he became legate, it was the King's intention to control the Church through Wolsey as legate just as he controlled the State through him as chancellor, and Wolsey was told by Henry that he would not allow the Church to interpret its decrees solely at its own pleasure.

Wolsey played his last card when in 1528 he persuaded the Pope, through Stephen Gardiner, to refer the divorce to himself and Campeggio. At the critical moment Clement recalled the case to Rome, for he realized that not only was he asked

to defy Charles, but also to set aside a papal dispensation which appeared to have been carefully safeguarded from the quibbles of the most ingenious lawyer. The Pope lost England and ruined Wolsey, whose enemies now accused him of a breach of the Statute of Præmunire by accepting the legateship without the consent of Parliament. Whatever Henry's real intentions to Wolsey may have been, they were frustrated by his death in 1530; but Henry had already listened to two men—the scholar Cranmer and the adventurer Cromwell. The former persuaded him to seek favourable verdicts from the European Universities: the latter suggested that he should legally abolish the Pope's authority and control both Church and State himself.

It was part of Cromwell's policy to act through a subservient Parliament, for he had taken warning by the unpopularity of his former master, Wolsey, and the Reformation Parliament of 1529 gave Henry no trouble. The members represented largely middle-class feeling, which hated Wolsey's system and preferred to abolish rather than reform the machinery of the Church courts. By 1531 the clergy of both Convocations had been terrified by a charge of præmunire into submitting to Henry; they bought their pardon for acknowledging Wolsey as legate by an enormous fine, and further agreed that Henry was "Supreme Head of the Church of England and its clergy so far as the law of Christ allowed." Next year Convocation had to give Henry a veto on all past and future legislation, but Wolsey's successor as Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, took alarm and resigned. Other laymen were less bold, but began to look with misgiving on the King's proceedings.

However, Parliament was still subservient. The first Act of Annates passed in 1532 threatened the Pope's income, although the blow did not fall till later, and the Statute of Appeals deprived him of all jurisdiction in England. As Clement was still obdurate, Henry used his other tool, Cranmer, whom he had made Archbishop of Canterbury. Cranmer was a scholar, but was so diffident and morally weak that a strong character could induce him to surrender his personal judgment. Now as the Universities were divided in opinion upon the divorce, Convocation was induced to declare in Henry's favour, and Cranmer had the incredible meanness formally to pronounce in a secret sitting of the Archiepiscopal Court that the marriage with Catherine had been void

from the beginning. Despite the Act of Appeals, it was feared that if Catherine knew when the court met she would appeal to Rome.

Henry still felt very uneasy, for he had actually married Anne Boleyn privately before Cranmer's formal verdict, and so he appealed from the Pope to a General Council. Of course Clement now decided for Catherine, and Henry retaliated in 1534 by a series of statutes which legally severed the Church of England from the papacy and deprived the latter successively of its English income, its share in the appointment of bishops, and any right to hear appeals. In other words, Henry VIII legally deprived the Pope of all the powers he had hitherto exercised in England by royal connivance, and received a legal confirmation of the extremest claims of former kings, such as Henry II, over the Church. In theory, the Church of England became free, but under the Tudors it was certainly in practice bound fast to the Crown. In 1534 Parliament passed two Acts of Parliament, one of which—the Treasons Act—made it high treason to plan mischief against the Royal Family, or to question the King's title or orthodoxy, while the second—the Act of Supremacy—declared it high treason to deny that the King was head of the Church of England on earth. In 1535 Cromwell was, with doubtful legality, appointed the King's vicar-general to exercise the royal authority in ecclesiastical affairs.

Henry had the gift of finding men suitable for his purpose, and Cromwell spared nobody. Already More and Fisher were in the Tower for refusing to swear that Catherine's marriage was illegal, although they were willing to accept Anne's daughter Elizabeth as Henry's successor by Act of Parliament. It was in vain that preaching on the King's marriage was forbidden and the friaries visited by Royal Commissioners. Cromwell struck first at the Friars Observant and then at the Monks of the Charterhouse. Many of them were put to death with barbarous cruelty under the Act of Supremacy, nor did Cromwell spare Fisher or More. Some victims escaped the axe only to die of disease or starvation in filthy dungeons. Often their sole crime was a refusal to perjure themselves at the King's command: they would accept Elizabeth's succession, but they could not deny Catherine's marriage.

Cromwell won fresh favour from his master by his scheme for dissolving the smaller monasteries. This time the money

obtained went not to further education but to fill the King's treasury. Commissioners were sent round obviously to formulate charges rather than to investigate the true condition of the monasteries, and their work was done too rapidly to allow any credence to be given to their evidence. Indeed, Henry himself told Parliament in 1536 that the inmates of the larger monasteries were as virtuous as those in the smaller houses were vile, despite the sweeping charges brought by Cromwell's tools against all alike. Scandals among the monks and clergy there undoubtedly were, and it was possible to argue, as Wolsey did, that the endowments could be put to better service, but it is incredible that a man with Cromwell's record could in this case be solely actuated by zeal for religion when, in other matters, he showed himself unfettered by any regard for justice or honesty.

Soon Anne's day was over; she was beheaded on charges as monstrous as those brought against the monks, and Elizabeth, like Catherine's daughter Mary, was declared illegitimate. A third wife, Jane Seymour, gave Henry a son, Edward, in 1537, and as Catherine was now dead the succession seemed at last settled. Jane's friends for a time retained their influence, and an approximation to Lutheran doctrines appeared in the Ten Articles of 1536. In these Articles, sanctioned by the King, Convocation attempted to explain more liberally the doctrines of the Mediæval Church, and in 1537 Cromwell took a step that was fraught with important consequences. Desiring to appeal to the nation's intelligence against the papacy, he obtained the King's consent to the publication of Coverdale's version of the Bible, itself largely based in the New Testament on the proscribed and rather one-sided version of Tyndale. Henry and Cromwell had hoped that when men could find nothing in the Bible in favour of papal claims they would be content with the Ten Articles, but the only result of the step was to encourage the reformers against the Church and to anger the Catholics, who feared further changes.

The common people and many of the upper classes, especially in the north, were still unwilling to break altogether with the Mediæval Faith, and they hated Cromwell as they had hated Wolsey. Headed by Robert Aske, the Yorkshiremen formed an insurrection known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, which became so dangerous that Henry had to pardon the rebels and promise to redress their grievances. When the rebels dispersed, Henry soon found an excuse to break his

word, and executed the leaders. The rising was directed against the further religious changes which Cromwell was accused of planning, and the insurgents asked for the punishment of that minister and his heretic friends and the restoration of the monasteries and a modified papal supremacy.

Cromwell and Henry used the rising to suppress the Greater Monasteries. Such abbots as could not be punished for treason even by a Tudor judge were frightened into surrendering their houses to the King, and often into accusing themselves of the most horrible vices. Cromwell's spies served him well, and once more the King became enormously rich. A small part of the wealth was spent on endowing new bishoprics or in furthering the defence of the realm, but most of it was squandered by the King on his own pleasures or in buying the allegiance of his courtiers to the new system. Many of the English landowners grew wealthy on the spoils of the Church, and Henry felt able to help himself to the gold and jewels that decorated the churches and the shrines of the saints. In this crusade against superstition Henry was undoubtedly guided by other motives than zeal for pure religion.

It was difficult at this time to decide the exact position of Henry in religious matters. Certainly he made up for his zeal against superstition by persecuting heretics, who were burnt relentlessly for denying doctrines hardly to be distinguished from Popery. In 1539 Henry began to return from his partial sympathy with Lutheranism and issued the Six Articles, which punished denial of the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament as heresy by burning, and disbelief in certain other mediæval practices hardly less severely. Cranmer had to send away his wife, other reformers resigned their sees, and Cromwell's own position became insecure. As has been already stated, he attempted to strengthen himself by luring Henry into a fourth marriage with Anne, sister of the Duke of Cleves and a Lutheran, in the hope that Henry would help the Lutherans against Charles V. The King never forgave Cromwell on finding that the lady was, as he said, "a Flemish mare," and shortly afterwards his rival, the Catholic leader Norfolk, was allowed to charge him with high treason. It was clear that Cromwell was now as unpopular in the country as Wolsey had been, and so Henry had no further use for him. He was executed under a Bill of Attainder on as little legal evidence as he had brought against his own victims.

For a brief space Norfolk was triumphant, and Henry took his niece, Catherine Howard, as his fifth wife on the day of Cromwell's execution, July 28, 1540. Stephen Gardiner, Wolsey's old servant, now attempted to check the reform in doctrine while maintaining the royal supremacy; Lutherans were burnt, and those who denied Henry's ecclesiastical authority were executed. However, by 1542 Henry had found an excuse to put Catherine Howard to death, and in 1543 he married his sixth wife, Catherine Parr, who favoured the reformers. Luckily for her, her skilful nursing and unfailing good temper were essential to the King, who before his death became unwieldy through corpulence and broken by disease. Cranmer had been perfectly complacent in all Henry's actions, but in 1544, during the siege of Boulogne, he ventured to order the new English Litany to be used, and followed it up by the Primer, or English Prayer Book; even in the Mass the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments were to be in English.

The reformers were now high in favour, for Henry considered that they would be more faithful than Norfolk's party to his successor Edward. Norfolk and his son Surrey were charged with treason, and only Henry's death saved Norfolk from his son's fate on the scaffold. His rival Hertford, uncle of the young heir, was not wholly trusted, however, and the King's will finally provided for a Council of Regency in which the reformers and the men of the Old Learning were equally represented. Scarcely was the King dead than Hertford, by the help of Paget, the King's secretary, fraudulently upset the compromise. Under pretext of Henry's wishes, the reforming leaders bestowed higher titles and grants of land upon themselves and finally excluded Gardiner and his more dangerous supporters from all authority. Hertford, now Duke of Somerset, was proclaimed Lord Protector.

Somerset was quite willing to give Cranmer a free hand in ecclesiastical matters, as he intended that the remaining spoils of the Church should fall to himself and his friends. The Archbishop was no better able to rebuke the Protector than the King, and his own opinions were in a continual state of flux according to the views of his latest teacher. Personally he was willing to retain all those Mediæval Church doctrines and ceremonies that were not contrary to Holy Scripture or could be justified from the writings of the Early Fathers, and

he seems to have favoured the royal authority both as a protection against Popery and as a restraint on the wilder reformers. He certainly leaned more and more to the Reformation, but he never wholly accepted the purely Protestant claim to the right of private judgment in matters of religion.

Before Parliament met, a royal visitation broke down the stone altars and the remaining images in the church and wrecked all traces possible of the Old Faith. When Bonner and Gardiner protested on the ground that the King was under age, they were imprisoned, and the new Parliament of course supported the reformers. In theory, all traces of Henry's persecuting statutes and systems were abolished, and, a little later, many of the surviving Catholic usages in the Church were rejected. When the clergy objected, their right to preach was taken away from them. Somerset's reward came in an Act vesting in the reigning king the property of those chantries where Masses were offered for the dead, and even the property of the workmen's guilds did not wholly escape from his clutches. However, Somerset hesitated to enforce the Act too literally in the face of the popular clamour in favour of the guilds.

In 1549 was issued the First Prayer Book of Edward VI, which was an English version of a revised edition of the mediæval Service Book, and the First Act of Uniformity ordered its use in all churches. As the old eucharistic vestments were retained, the new service was not wholly unlike the old outwardly, and was still styled "The Mass." However, moderate though its tone was, the book never became popular, and in the west a rebellion of the peasantry against the "May game," as they called the English liturgy, was only put down by the use of foreign mercenaries. Somerset did not add to the popularity of either himself or his creed by pulling down churches to build himself a palace in the Strand. He failed in Scotland and in France; his religious reforms displeased the people, and his sympathy with them in their resistance to the enclosure of the commons by the great landowners turned the nobles against him. His own brother suffered on a charge of treason, and at last he had to resign in favour of the Earl of Warwick, who had put down the East Anglian peasants when, led by Ket, they revolted against the enclosure of the commons.

Cranmer acquiesced in the change, for Warwick professed

to be a zealous reformer. Foreign teachers, such as Peter Martyr, were encouraged to preach in England in preparation for a second Prayer Book authorized by Parliament in 1552. The Protector, like his predecessors, exercised control over the Church even more openly than Henry VIII, and bishops such as Ridley and Ponet were appointed in the place of the recalcitrant Bonner and Gardiner simply by letters patent. The new ecclesiastical dignitaries had to submit to the rapacity of their patrons, and the See of Durham was suppressed. Warwick, now styled the Duke of Northumberland, proved to be an even more incompetent ruler than Somerset, but when the latter began to recover popularity his rival had him executed. The Second Edwardian Prayer Book was frankly anti-Catholic in sentiment, especially in its eucharistic doctrine, and all vestments but the surplice were abolished. It was followed by the strongly Calvinistic Forty-two Articles, but neither Prayer Book nor Articles ever became popular, nor was the Prayer Book largely introduced into use in the churches before the King's death.

The Edwardian Reformation was growing more and more unpopular, and the young king was dying. Northumberland realized how precarious his own position was. Not content with relentless hostility to men of the Old Learning, the Government had burnt Unitarians such as Bocher and Van Parris, and, like Henry VIII, was perpetually demanding conformity to a doctrinal standard that changed almost yearly. The precocious young king had as little mercy as Cranmer, who should have stood for mercy. If the system was to remain, it was clear that Northumberland must deprive Mary and probably Elizabeth of their rights of succession under their father's will. Edward was quite willing, and Northumberland proposed that they should both be passed over in favour of Lady Jane Grey, his own daughter-in-law and Edward's cousin, who, as a descendant of Mary, younger sister of Henry VIII, had been given preference in Henry's will over Mary Queen of Scots, descendant of his elder sister Margaret. Soon afterwards, in July 1553, Edward died.

Jane was a gentle, pious girl who was forced into a false position by the masterful Northumberland. For nine days she "reigned," but no one would support her when Mary escaped from semi-captivity and proclaimed her accession. Even the base duke sought to save his life by deserting his

victim, but Mary would not spare him, and he disgraced his death by abandoning on the scaffold the Reformed Faith which he had disgraced by his life. Mary only demanded two other victims, and Jane escaped with imprisonment. Everywhere men rejoiced at the expected restoration of King Henry's system, which now seemed so desirable. All the Edwardian changes were in turn abolished, and many of the leading reformers fled. Cranmer joined Jane in prison, and for him, as the churchman who had declared her illegitimate, Mary had no mercy. Gardiner was restored to his see and the Royal Council, but Mary had no intention of accepting his wise guidance.

Mary Tudor can be forgiven much if one takes into account her unloved childhood and her many wrongs at the hands of her father and her brother's ministers. Her sole friends were her mother's relations, and only by a threat of war from Charles V had she been allowed to hear Mass privately during her brother's reign. Naturally she determined to restore the Old Religion, and it is perhaps not strange that she saw in a marriage with the Emperor's son, Philip II of Spain, the easiest way to success. Unfortunately for her she led her best friends astray by continuing to use the title of "Supreme Head of the English Church," and her first and most loyal Parliament, although it cheerfully restored the religious system of Henry VIII, did not expect that Mary would desire more than that. The members refused to restore the abbey lands, and they petitioned against the Spanish marriage so important to her schemes.

Any hope Gardiner may have entertained of a peaceful settlement disappeared when Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane Grey's father, headed a rising against the proposed Spanish marriage and in favour of Elizabeth. Wyatt failed to enter London, and the rising cost the lives of Wyatt, Suffolk, Lady Jane and her husband; Elizabeth either convinced Mary of her innocence or alarmed her by her popularity, and escaped with a temporary disgrace. A fresh Parliament refused to revive the statutes against heretics, but allowed Mary to marry her laggard wooer Philip, although it would not give him any real authority.

Hitherto Mary had found no occasion to show the darker side of her character. Her third Parliament, though probably packed, definitely refused to restore the abbey lands or to

allow the restoration of papal authority until Mary formally acquiesced in the Church's loss, but it was probably merely a coincidence that Parliament revived the statutes against heresy just before it allowed Cardinal Pole to enter England as papal legate. Cranmer at least could expect no mercy from the triumphant Papists, for he had shown none in his day of power. The Archbishop, having received his pall from Rome, could not be burnt until papal sanction had been obtained, but many other leading Protestants, including Ridley and Latimer, suffered by fire. Mary's first blunder was that she punished the Protestant leaders as heretics when their lives had already been forfeited to the State by treason against her. Her second and most grievous blunder was the punishment by fire of ignorant men, and even of women and children, for refusing to believe abstruse doctrines about which even the learned differed.

Mary alone must bear the responsibility for the burnings, for Gardiner died before the date of the later persecutions, and even Bonner showed no special zeal against heretics, despite tradition. Disappointed in her hope of a son, she saw her husband leave her and her advisers intriguing against each other, while the Protestants never ceased their plots in favour of Elizabeth. Pure and kindly in her private life and anxious to do her best for her subjects, she was, unknown to herself, slowly sinking under the burden of disease. Her gloomy Spanish temperament did nothing to save her from a fanaticism which undoubtedly passed into a form of religious mania. To win back her husband's love, and to become the mother of a child to carry on her work, she was prepared to offer up to Heaven the whole of her heretic subjects. Neither her father nor her brother had set an example of tolerance, and Mary was but acting up to the custom of her day in burning those who differed from her in religion. It must not be forgotten that outside London and the south-eastern districts there was no serious persecution. Tunstall, restored to his bishopric of Durham, emphatically refused to use force against the Protestants, and his diocese, perhaps in consequence, long remained a Catholic stronghold. However, persecution then as ever defeated its own object, and Mary not only left behind more Protestants than she found on her accession, but, more important still, she convinced the greater part of the nation that the papal system brought neither peace at home nor

victory abroad. Cardinal Pole did not actively persecute ; he was no mere fanatic, and, as a suspected heretic, he died out of favour with the Pope two days after Mary. Elizabeth was not theologically a Protestant, but Pole's death took away the last inducement to attempt a modification of Mary's system on purely Roman Catholic lines.

Elizabeth's position was difficult. She had been nominally a Catholic during most of her sister's reign, and apparently the majority of the Catholics, headed by Heath the Chancellor, Archbishop of York, were quite willing to accept her as Mary's successor. Even Paul IV, according to the letter of Carne, the English envoy at Rome, was not inclined to champion Mary Queen of Scots, now a French dauphiness, if Elizabeth "gave no occasion first," although by Roman Catholic ideas her claims were superior to those of Elizabeth. Cecil, however, was secretly forming his own scheme for the future. Where Cardinal Pole had failed to propitiate the papacy it was not likely that Elizabeth would succeed. The Spanish marriage and the whole Marian system had been so unpopular that there must be a clean sweep of the late Queen's policy and her agents, especially the bishops, whom she had generally appointed for their extreme views. The alliance with Spain meant enmity with France, and so possible invasion and certain expense, as the loss of Calais proved.

Cecil was successful in obtaining control of Elizabeth's policy, but a hint at possible religious changes by authority of Parliament alarmed the bishops, and only one, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, would agree to crown the Queen. When Parliament met in January 1559 it passed three measures of the greatest importance. The first again deprived the Pope of his first-fruits, or Annates, and took from the Church the lands surrendered by Mary. The second Act restored the royal supremacy, though Elizabeth was declared Supreme *Governor* of the Church in order to propitiate those to whom the title Supreme *Head* was obnoxious ; however, as the Act compelled every official to accept the royal supremacy and renounce the Pope, it effectively barred the Marian party from power. The third act was the famous Act of Uniformity, which enforced, under monetary penalties, the use of a revised version of the Second Edwardian Prayer Book. If the clergy refused to use the book a second time they were deprived of their benefices, and a further offence involved imprisonment for life. A Royal

Commission was sent round to exact the oath of supremacy from the clergy, and, as was intended, all the bishops except Kitchin of Llandaff were legally deprived of their sees; the clergy were more complacent, but naturally partisan historians give widely varying figures for those deprived. As the intention of the Commission was mainly to oust the Marian party from control of the Church, it is probable that clergy not politically dangerous were not pressed too hardly.

The Elizabethan Reformation was purely political. The Queen could not afford to submit her hereditary claims to the papal judgment, but she could submit them to the nation. Her Prayer Book and the Thirty-nine Articles that were issued later made an appeal to the moderates of both parties. She carefully struck out all provocative language from the Prayer Book and all definitely partisan phrases from the Articles. When the Marian bishops refused to accept her terms they were simply deprived and imprisoned with varying degrees of severity. Fortunately for her, about half the English sees were vacant by death, and any objection that Convocation took to the new Prayer Book was disregarded. It is idle to maintain that Elizabeth was a stickler for legality in an age of revolution. She, as Supreme Governor of the Church, rectified all legal flaws out of her plenary authority. Her new Archbishop, Matthew Parker, was a learned and moderate man. He was consecrated with as near an approach to tradition as was possible, and he and the surviving bishops of Edward's and Henry's systems quickly filled up the bench to its full strength.

For a time Elizabeth's troubles were mainly with the reformers, who, having been steeped in the more extreme teaching of Calvin while abroad, returned to find a religious system which to them was little removed from Popery. Some of the newer Elizabethan bishops made little attempt to enforce uniformity, especially in the use of ancient ecclesiastical vestments which Elizabeth had retained by her Prayer Book, and in London had appeared the so-called Vestiarian Controversy. Backed by Leicester the Queen's favourite, the more extreme reformers, called "Puritans," began to demand further changes in the Prayer Book, and there were even some, called Brownists from their leader and Separatists from their principles, who denied entirely the right of the State to settle the outward form of Church Government, and called upon Chris-

tians to "separate themselves" and form Churches of believers with a minister called to his office by the believers only. A more moderate section of the Puritans, headed by Cartwright, a Cambridge professor, desired an approximation to the Presbyterian system of Scotland, where all the ministers of the gospel were equal and bishops had been abolished. Elizabeth could afford to suppress the more dangerous manifestations of the Puritans because she knew that they could not afford to quarrel with her, lest Philip should be victorious. As a result, the Nonconformists remained in the Church and were the spiritual ancestors of the Low Church Party and, to some extent, of the modern Presbyterians. The Separatists, who were particularly obnoxious to Elizabeth from their theocratic, not to say republican views, were punished in the High Commission Court, through which the royal supremacy was exercised, as men who challenged the royal supremacy, and not till the eve of the Civil War did they become dangerous as the Independents, the original name of the Congregationalists. The Baptists were a section of the Independents who opposed the baptism of infants and preached "Believer's Baptism" by immersion for adults only.

However, Elizabeth's policy of conniving at breaches of the Act of Uniformity on the part of otherwise loyal Papists had been so successful that, apart from external influences, there would soon have ceased to be any danger from that quarter. That the Queen took active steps against the Papists was due to the flight of Mary Queen of Scots to England and the appearance of the seminary priests and, later, the Jesuits. Elizabeth always maintained, with at least the appearance of truth, that she persecuted no man for his religious opinions, but the law of treason in the sixteenth century was so bound up with the Act of Supremacy that the Papists had equal justification in maintaining that the men whom the Queen styled traitors were really martyrs to their faith quite as much as Mary's victims.

It has already been described how Mary Queen of Scots had appealed for help to Elizabeth when forced to flee from her Protestant subjects. The conferences held at York and at London to investigate the charges against her had resulted neither in her condemnation nor acquittal, but Elizabeth was not troubled by any doubt as to her legal right to keep Mary a prisoner with varying degrees of rigour. Certainly Mary's

treatment was none too generous, and when her friends proposed to divorce her from Bothwell and marry her to the Duke of Norfolk, the head of the English Roman Catholics, Elizabeth took alarm. The conspiracy, as it was called, was the work of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and its leaders were quite willing to leave Elizabeth on the throne if she would dismiss Burleigh and acknowledge Mary as her heir and allow her to to marry Norfolk. Elizabeth was even yet not supposed to be irrevocably committed to Protestantism, but a summons to London made the Earls suspicious of her attitude, and the insurgents, after restoring the Latin service in Durham Cathedral and other churches, got as far south as Bramham Moor in Yorkshire. Here they began to quarrel among themselves as to the next step, for Mary had been removed still further south, and the leaders finally fled. Elizabeth suppressed the rest with great severity, and before the end of 1569 the Rising of the North was over and Roman Catholicism in England had become synonymous with treason in Elizabeth's eyes.

The growing hostility of the Romanists was due largely to the work of William, later Cardinal, Allen, a former Principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, who, fearing lest the Papists should gradually lose their identity as the older priesthood died out, opened the famous seminary in the University of Douay in 1568. Before the scheme had been working many years nearly one hundred "missionaries" or seminary priests had been sent over to England, and they met with great success. Many of these men were pure-minded zealots, but, unfortunately for them, in April 1570 Pope Pius V had lost patience with Elizabeth, and by the bull *Regnans in Excelsis* had declared her excommunicated and her subjects absolved from their allegiance. Elizabeth took up the challenge; she had steadily refused to make concessions to the Puritans, and now procured from Parliament drastic special legislation against the Recusants or Popish Nonconformists, making it treason to use the Latin Mass or to bring papal bulls into the kingdom. The oath of supremacy was more strictly exacted from suspects, and when the danger grew more serious, even if there was doubt of an accused person's guilt the juries were directed to act upon presumption in default of direct evidence.

To some extent this severity of the Queen conciliated the Protestant Nonconformists, who feared that without Elizabeth's

protection Alva might repeat in England his barbarities in the Netherlands. The Romanists became desperate, and Ridolphi, a papal agent who was supposed to be a Florentine banker, was sent over to ask Alva for military aid against Elizabeth. Norfolk was to marry Mary, and the heretic queen was to be dethroned. The Spaniards were willing to help as Cecil, created Lord Burleigh in 1571, was pressing his mistress to marry the French Duke of Anjou and ally with that more tolerant nation. However, Philip finally decided that he could not sanction the secret murder even of a heretic queen, and delayed Alva so long that the plot was discovered. Norfolk was executed in 1572, but Elizabeth refused to allow Parliament to attaint Mary, and she sternly repressed any of its attempts to bring about further Church reform in a Puritan direction.

Elizabeth realized that on ecclesiastical questions the middle-class oligarchy of the House of Commons did not represent the nation as a whole, which put national unity and safety before everything else. Certainly a Presbyterian Church on the model of Cartwright's Second Admonition of 1572 would meet with even more resistance than her own Anglican settlement—the *via media*. Despite the massacre of the Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Day, a common dread of Spain drew England and France together, and there resulted the long-drawn-out farcical courtship of Alençon, brother of Elizabeth's former suitor Anjou. Despite Burleigh's entreaties, the Queen refused to give the Dutch more aid than was just sufficient to continue the struggle, but by 1577 the activity of the seminary priests had become so dangerous that the laws were pressed against them with the utmost rigour, and even peaceful Romanists saw their homes invaded by the ubiquitous and often professional priest-hunter.

Soon the seminary priests were followed by Jesuits. The Order of Jesus, founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1540, had been an active instrument on behalf of the Pope, especially since through the exertions of the great Counter-Reformation Popes the Roman Church had been purified from its worst abuses by the Council of Trent. In 1580, the first Jesuits came to England. Edmund Campion was a pure-souled enthusiast who in happier days would have won the admiration of all by his single-hearted devotion, but Robert Parsons was a born intriguer and more of a politician. While plots were being hatched in Scotland and carried out in Ireland, the two Jesuits,

taking their lives in their hands, wandered about among the English Roman Catholics. Campion fell into the hands of the Government and suffered the barbarous penalties of treason, although no political action could be proved against him. Parsons, the more guilty, escaped to the Continent, but many of those to whom he had taught treason against Elizabeth paid for the lesson with cruel tortures or death. Men could not obey the Pope and the Queen, and as Throgmorton under the rack confessed that Parsons and Allen had plotted Elizabeth's murder by the help of the Duke of Guise and Philip II, the Queen's supporters in 1584 formed the Bond of Association which pledged them to put Mary to death if Elizabeth shared the fate of the Prince of Orange, who had already been murdered at Philip's instigation.

The position of the English Romanists was now desperate, for in 1581 Parliament had passed the first of the Recusancy Laws, under which the hearing of the Latin Mass, or refusal to attend the parish church, were alike punishable by fines, even in the case of peaceful subjects. Torture was freely used to force from Recusants the hiding-places of their priests, and in 1585 not only was the Association legalized, but further Recusancy Laws were passed banishing seminary priests and Jesuits under penalty of execution as traitors if they returned or were found in the country. Naturally the Romanists formed fresh plots, and the Jesuit Ballard used Elizabeth's very boldness against her. Babington, one of her Roman Catholic courtiers, was to murder her if Mary would consent to the scheme. So confident of success was Babington that he allowed Secretary Walsingham's spies to discover everything from his foolish boastings. Walsingham produced evidence, perhaps not indisputable, that Mary had consented to the Queen's murder, and not only secured Babington's execution, but forced Elizabeth, sorely against her will, to put Mary on her trial despite the Scottish Queen's protest that as she was not Elizabeth's subject it was legally impossible to punish her for treason.

Elizabeth only signed the warrant after vainly asking Mary's gaolers to murder her secretly, and when Davison, her secretary, in obedience to the orders of her council sent it to Fotheringhay Castle, Elizabeth disgraced him publicly and disclaimed all responsibility. However, she could not divest herself either of the responsibility or the gain. The only pos-

sible candidate for the Romanists now was Philip II's daughter, who was a descendant of John of Gaunt. Mary's execution relieved Philip of a distasteful protégée, but whether the Armada was really sent to dethrone Elizabeth or merely to prevent her from assisting the Dutch it failed hopelessly. Even the Romanists rallied round Elizabeth.

The failure of the Armada freed Elizabeth's hands both against the Puritans and the Romanists. Towards the latter, so long as they were peaceful, she extended on the whole a precarious toleration which did not save them from heavy fines and ceaseless espionage; but the Romanist clergy, peaceful or plotters, were shown no mercy. The pretext was the possible renewal of the Spanish invasion, and in 1593 an Act was passed against the Romanist laity, now for the first time called Popish Recusants, which forbade them to move more than five miles from their usual place of abode under pain of forfeiture of all their possessions. The historian Lecky sums up the anti-papal legislation in these words: "It compelled every Catholic to attend the Anglican service, suppressed absolutely, and under crushing penalties, the celebration of the Mass, proscribed the whole Catholic priesthood and made it high treason for any English priest from beyond the seas to come to England, for any Catholic graduate to refuse for the third time the oath of supremacy, for any Protestant to become a Catholic, or for any Catholic to convert a Protestant."

The Puritans fared little better in theory, although in practice they were able to conform sufficiently to avoid the extreme penalties. Elizabeth's attitude towards the Reformation was equivocal. She claimed to be a Catholic, and carefully avoided any use of the word Protestant except in its older political sense. Her Church settlement, the *via media*, was inconsistent with the Calvinism of those of her subjects who came to be called Puritans. She opposed further Church reform because it might challenge her own right to control the Anglican Church, for she clearly saw that the Presbyterian position of Cartwright and the Separatist views of the Brownists were as inconsistent with her own claim to be Supreme Governor of the Church as the claims of the Pope. Parker sympathized with her, but those clergy and laity who supported her lacked the fiery zeal of the zealots on either side who opposed her. Many of her bishops, such as Sandys, Jewel, and Grindal, deliberately tried to interpret the Prayer Book in the Puritan

or Calvinist direction, and when Grindal, Parker's successor, declined to suppress the "prophesyings" or meetings of the Puritans, the Queen suspended him after barely one year of office. On his death in 1583 she appointed Whitgift as his successor. The new Archbishop was theologically a Calvinist, but politically a believer in the system of a State Church controlled by the Queen in the national interest.

Elizabeth obtained Whitgift's help only just in time. Again and again the House of Commons had shown itself strongly Puritan in sympathy, although probably the majority of its members would then, as later, have disclaimed the description. Elizabeth fell back upon a clause in the Act of Supremacy and established what finally came to be a permanent Court of High Commission, through which she mainly used her royal supremacy against the Puritans. Parker's "Advertisements" of 1566, which were an attempt to modify the objections of the Puritans to the use of the vestments prescribed by the Ornaments Rubric, had insisted at least on the use of the surplice in the ordinary churches with the addition of copes in cathedrals. Whitgift now found that he could barely enforce the use of the Prayer Book with the utmost rigour of the High Commission, and that the use of the surplice and even the simplest ceremonies were opposed. Despite Burleigh's objections to the extra-constitutional practices of the High Commission Court, Whitgift persisted in obeying the Queen. The Puritans were furious but helpless when Whitgift proceeded to put down with unsparing rigour the unofficial Presbyterian organization of the "classes" which had been started in various places to supersede in all but name the legal episcopal system. On the eve of the Armada the Puritan secret presses poured forth the Martin Marprelate Tracts attacking the bishops in gross and scurrilous language, which was answered quite as scurrilously and at times very effectively by writers on Whitgift's side.

After the Armada, the fighting spirit of the Puritans was somewhat checked. The Queen steadily promoted to sees and livings a better class of men, who sympathized with the plan to preserve all that was best in the Mediæval Church whilst they defended the Anglican position by reason and scholarship. Penry and Udal, two of the "Marprelate" pamphleteers, paid for their writings with their lives, and in 1590 Cartwright himself was imprisoned. Steady pressure did its work, until

finally only a handful of Presbyterians and the Separatists, or Brownists, remained. In 1593 Elizabeth persuaded Parliament to pass an Act which banished from England those who would not attend church or who attended unauthorized religious meetings. The remaining Nonconformists, cowed if not convinced, gave an unwilling obedience and hoped for better things under James. Whitgift now showed the better side of his character. He insisted on a high standard of learning among the clergy, and he reformed by canons passed in 1597 and 1601 the graver abuses of the Ecclesiastical Courts and insisted that the clergy should reside in their parishes.

Mere repression of the Puritans would not have produced the militant High Church Party of the early seventeenth century. As early as 1589 Bancroft preached a historic sermon at St. Paul's, maintaining that Episcopacy was to be defended as the Divine and Scriptural system of Church Government and not merely retained because of its convenience to the civil power. A little later an exiled Dutch theologian, Saravia, wrote a learned treatise on the same subject, and by 1593 Bilson, warden of Winchester College, preached the complete doctrine of the Apostolical Succession of the Episcopate, and attacked Presbyterianism as unscriptural. This was carrying the war into the enemy's camp; but probably far more effective arguments against the Puritans were the philosophical *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* of the "Judicious Hooker."

By 1594, Hooker published the first four books of the "Ecclesiastical Polity," and in these he agreed with the Puritans' contention that even if the Episcopate could be traced back to the days of the Apostles the Church was quite competent to change this system of government. Then he cleverly attacked the central position of the Puritans—the sufficient authority of Holy Scripture. He pointed out that in practice the opinion of the dominant theologian upon a particular text was really followed, and he maintained that it was far better to interpret the Scriptures by the help of all possible sources. God, he said, was not as Calvin depicted Him, outside the range of moral law, but must be sought in the laws that regulate the physical and the moral world. Human reason, "sifted and tested by experience and applied to the facts of life," was the true basis of authority. In other words, it was impossible to attach any exclusive meaning to Holy Scripture until we possessed intellect and learning sufficient to under-

stand it in all its bearings. Conventional arrangements based on human experience of their value should not be discarded upon *a priori* or purely theoretical grounds. When Hooker's treatise had been studied, the more able of the younger men abandoned Calvinism as a philosophical system although they could not all rise to the sublime philosophy of Hooker's view. Some of them, like Lancelot Andrewes, were disgusted with the failure of Puritan practice to correspond with its pious theories; others, like Buckeridge, Neile, and Laud, were appealed to by the historic spirit of the new movement, which almost deified scholarship as much as the Puritans did their Geneva Bible with its partisan explanations.

Elizabeth welcomed the new defenders of the nobler side of her Anglican settlement, but she did not always see eye to eye with them, and they were as yet few in number though weighty by their learning. It was unfortunate that the movement did not arise until the majority of the clergy and the nation had passed under the influence of Calvinism as the only alternative to the anti-national papal system. Elizabeth could have been trusted to detect the weakness and foster the strong points of the new movement. Her successor possessed the fatal gift of generally doing the right thing in the wrong way. Hooker's successors too often overlooked the philosophic arguments for their cause, and pressed sometimes injudiciously the argument from history.

CHAPTER VI

INTERNAL PROBLEMS. III. THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEM

The mediæval economic and social system received its death wound by the Black Death, although for more than one hundred years it had been slowly disintegrating. The Peasants' Revolt showed the impossibility of exacting the old services or even any profitable commutation of them, and the old lords of the manors steadily passed into the later landlords, who let out their lands to tenants bound to them by a purely monetary connection. The rents paid were not purely economic, but they tended to rise on the lay estates, and, later on, apparently also on some of the ecclesiastical estates. The Hundred Years

War, especially in its later phases, had tempted the peasantry away from agriculture, and it was unfortunate that the ending of the war synchronized with the outbreak of baronial lawlessness known as the Wars of the Roses. The discharged soldiers, unused to civil life, eagerly enlisted in the ranks of the Yorkist or Lancastrian lords as retainers, and they were joined by the dwellers on the baronial estates either because the latter were compelled to swell their lords' armies, or because they found a military life preferable to their former calling even in the fifteenth century—that "Golden Age of the English agricultural labourer."

More, in his *Utopia*, showed that he clearly realized the result of all this when Henry VII compelled the lords to disband their retainers and so forced them to become robbers or vagrants, since they had learnt to disdain honest labour. Robbery and murder were equally punished by death, and More rightly proposed a more equitable gradation of punishment. He pointed out too that, perhaps at first by necessity but certainly later induced by the hope of higher profit from wool-growing than from ordinary agriculture, the lords had laid down their estates as sheep farms and had finally expelled the inhabitants and even destroyed churches. The Government of the early sixteenth century shared his view that it was necessary to insist on the reversion of the pasture land to its original arable status, and it even passed legislation intended to replace the exiled population on the land. The better remedy, the introduction of manufactures, especially weaving, was not understood then or was not easily practicable, although the domestic system was springing up in the country districts.

This domestic system, under which the small farmer or agricultural labourer eked out his ordinary wages by the labour of himself, his wife, and his children at the spindle and the loom, is closely connected with the problem of the decay of the towns. It is difficult to understand clearly what happened, and it is impossible to say that the towns suffered serious damage during the Wars of the Roses, as, except in the case of the seaport towns, they had little external trade. Probably the exclusive policy of the guilds, and their unwillingness to admit new members to share their privileges or to recognize new and improved processes of manufacture, tended to cause their populations and wealth either to remain stationary or even to decrease. The excluded workmen were badly paid and

discontented, and early in the sixteenth century the problem was complicated by the appearance in London, and even in the Midland towns, of skilled aliens from Italy, and later on from other parts of the Continent, especially Flanders. The officers of the craft guilds were either identical with the municipal government or at least able to control it, and they certainly used both types of authority in the interests of the dominant oligarchy.

Naturally, the dissatisfied workmen migrated to the neighbouring villages where the craft guilds had no power, and established new industries there which affected adversely the old chartered towns. The Central Government was interested in the latter from the fee-farm rent and the share in the subsidies they paid, and interfered on their behalf, but in vain. The Tudor kings did not abolish the guilds, as they were too useful both in governing the towns and in controlling elections, but they endeavoured to reform them. A statute of 1504 declared that the ordinances of craft guilds were not valid until they had been approved of by the judges. Sometimes, as at York in 1519, the mayor attempted to limit the powers of the guilds so that they could only act through him ; but grievances continued despite attempts to protect apprentices and journeymen made by Henry VIII's Parliaments. Indeed, the troubles became accentuated as the century wore on.

The drastic repression of disorder by the Star Chamber did little to solve the problem of unemployment, and the "sturdy beggars," or able-bodied vagrants, abounded everywhere. An Act of 1495 made it an offence for them to beg outside the area to which they belonged, and when doubts arose as to the statute's meaning, the justices in 1531 were ordered to decide the area to which a beggar belonged, and the able-bodied vagrants were to be forced to work. However, as the State could do nothing either to stop enclosures or increase the chance of employment, the problem was not solved. Soon after the last statute had been passed the Dissolution of the Monasteries caused a fresh flood of pauperism.

Perhaps it is possible to exaggerate the kindliness of the monkish landlords and to maintain that their unenterprising, not to say wasteful management of so large a proportion of the national soil in itself contributed to the problem of pauperism. Charges have also been made that their charity was either fitful or misdirected, and seldom in proportion to

their profession. However, it is certain that the greedy courtiers and grasping merchants who succeeded them were not in any degree charitable, and they raised rents to such an extent that, according to Latimer's testimony, the condition of their tenants was changed greatly for the worse. The King suffered in the long run because the old sturdy yeoman had become unable to pay either taxes or military service as before, and only the new landlords had gained.

There is abundant evidence to prove that not only did the landlords strain their legal rights to the breaking-point and beyond it in the matter of enclosing the commons as sheep-walks so as to take advantage of the rise in the price of wool, but that they deliberately expelled the peasantry from the villages far down into the sixteenth century, as at an earlier date. Even when the villagers and yeomen were not driven from their homes, their rents were exorbitantly increased, and the conditions of their tenures worsened in defiance of local custom. This injustice coincided with, and was perhaps indirectly caused by, the great disturbances in prices which resulted from the influx of American bullion. The cost of living and the cost of governing alike rose, and the King's revenue, despite the enormous confiscations of ecclesiastical property, was quite unequal to his expenditure. Henry VIII twice persuaded Parliament to relieve him of his debts, and he did not shrink from debasing the coinage.

When his strong hand was removed, the nobles seem to have cast off all restraint. Somerset was well meaning when his own interests were not affected, and he certainly sympathized with the victims of enclosures. The newer nobility seem to have been the most guilty, and their exactions were so pitiless that the discontent, felt everywhere, blazed into rebellion in East Anglia, where Robert Ket, the tanner who was lord of the manor of Wymondham, was led to become their leader on account of his own personal grievances. At Mousehold Heath, near Norwich, Ket held a sort of court under his "Tree of Reformation" and executed stern justice on the guilty landlords, whose enclosures were once more thrown open. Ket kept his mobs in surprisingly good order, but Somerset lacked either the will or the power to influence the council to justice, and when Ket seized Norwich and defeated the royal troops he was pitilessly suppressed by the Earl of Warwick's foreign mercenaries raised for the war in Scotland.

The Scottish War, followed by the French War, resulted in a fresh debasement of the coinage and, of course, still higher prices. Everyone turned against Somerset, and he was blamed for the existing economic troubles, which, however, grew worse under his successor Warwick. During Edward VI's reign, legislation as severe as it was ineffective was passed against the "sturdy beggar," who, by a statute of 1547, might even be enslaved; and the impotent poor met with little better treatment at times, for legislation designed to call into existence a system of compulsory local charity wholly failed in practice. The guilds of the workmen could in any case only deal with their own members, and early in the reign the Protector Somerset obtained a law confiscating a large part of their revenues on a plea of superstitious uses. Charity had ceased to be looked upon as a work of merit, and, even if the springs of private charity had not begun to dry up, the problem of poverty had passed into the stage of demanding State action.

The troubles of Mary's reign completed the economic ruin of the nation, and Elizabeth found herself faced by a bankrupt treasury and a discontented and all but starving nation. It was her good fortune that she found in Sir Thomas Gresham an able teacher. By his help, and at great momentary loss, she called in the old base coinage and issued new money more nearly equal to its face value. Trade at once began to revive, and Cecil was invaluable on the economic side of government. He was a believer in what was afterwards called the mercantile system. Corn-growing was encouraged, and manufactures fostered. A more thriving population demanded additional cereal food, and in time it did not pay to continue to lay down arable land into pasture. Home manufactures were encouraged, and the export of bullion was forbidden so that foreign imports might be paid for in English manufactured exports. Above all, he encouraged the growth of that mercantile marine which not only found employment for the fishermen and others whom the alteration in religion had somewhat severely affected, but also proved so useful in attacking Spanish treasure-ships and defeating the Armada.

There are two statutes always connected with the economic legislation of Elizabeth—the Statute of Apprentices or Artificers of 1563 and the Great Poor Law of 1601. The first statute was a complete industrial code. By it the State swept aside all local customs in favour of centralized control which might

upon occasion delegate certain powers of administration to local authorities. Every boy was to be taught a trade corresponding to his parents' status in life. He must serve seven years' apprenticeship under a master, and those who could not prove their right to apprenticeship in an urban industry were to be apprenticed as agriculturists or workers in employments necessary to country life, such as the crafts of smiths, wheelwrights, and weavers of the coarser kinds of cloth. The master craftsman might only take apprentices corresponding to the proportion of journeymen he employed, and this clause is a proof that Elizabeth's Government was really legislating in the interests of the poorer classes.

The clauses dealing with the regulation of wages by the justices of the peace in the various districts are a good example of the superiority of her council over that of earlier kings. Beginning with the Statute of Labourers of 1351, various laws had been passed fixing a maximum rate of wages for the whole kingdom, and down to 1514, although the justices of the peace were given a certain discretion, they were bound to observe a maximum limit. However, Elizabeth realized that wages were often oppressively low, and the statute of 1563 allowed the justices a free hand, subject only to control by the council, to fix wages both according to the locality and to the ability of the craftsman. The intention of the Queen was that no man who was willing to work should be unable to buy sufficient food or be forced to accept a life of misery. It is unfortunate that detailed information as to the working of the Act is not plentiful, but either wholly or partly on account of the Act the condition of the artisan certainly improved from this time. The weakness of the system consisted in the uncertainty of the council's control over the justices and the certainty that such a centralized system, even in the hands of a wise council, would be resented by Parliament when it began to reassert itself against the King.

The second great economic statute of the reign is the Great Poor Law of 1601. The panic legislation of Edward VI's reign had failed, for neither the threat of slavery nor voluntary charity could cure what was really an economic crisis. The root idea of Elizabeth's legislation was to transfer the task of dealing with poverty from voluntary ecclesiastical to regular civil authorities. A statute of 1563 had empowered the magistrates to insist that those who would not give alms at the

exhortation of the bishops should pay a weekly sum under pressure from the civil power. A later Act of 1572 allowed the magistrates or mayors to assess householders to the relief of the poor; collectors were appointed and also overseers of the poor, to whom it fell to dispense the money thus collected. Four years later the justices were ordered to see that in all corporate and market towns a stock of materials, such as wool and flax, should be provided on which the poor might be employed; able-bodied paupers refusing to work were to be sent to a House of Correction. By this time the effect of the Statute of Artificers and the general return of prosperity had brought the problem of poverty within manageable limits. Land was once more returning under the plough, for the urban districts were becoming more prosperous. New trades were being introduced by the refugees from France and the Netherlands, and the refugees were not only controlled by the Statute of Artificers, but were compelled to teach their crafts to English apprentices.

In the midst of their other exacting duties, Elizabeth's Council had carefully observed the working of the existing poor laws in the various districts, commending the zealous and severely reprimanding the backward local authorities. Then in 1597, after a review of the results obtained, the council obtained from Parliament the elaborate code of 1597, which, only slightly altered in 1601, became the legal basis of the English Poor Law until the Amending Act of 1834. Henceforth every parish in its vestry, the sole remaining organ of local self-government, had to pass a local rate on the proposition of the churchwardens, which was to be collected by them and dispensed by overseers, appointed by the justices, on the relief of the poor. The impotent poor were to be cared for as kindly as possible, and the able-bodied unemployed were to be given the chance to earn a living by working on materials provided by the parish. The sturdy beggar and every adult who, though able, refused to maintain himself or herself by honest labour, but wandered about the country without legal authorization, was to be imprisoned and burnt in the ear unless some charitable person should take the accused into his service for one year. So long as the Royal Council maintained its authority against Parliament it endeavoured to see, through the justices of the peace, that the parish did its duty. Although the Elizabethan Poor Law was handicapped by the

smallness of its unit of administration, for the parish alone was available, the system worked fairly well, supplemented as it was by voluntary benevolence, until the downfall of the central authority in the Great Rebellion.

Besides their attempts to improve the economic condition of their subjects, the Tudor sovereigns were all of them eager to increase the national wealth by fostering the overseas trade. In the Middle Ages, England's external commerce was wholly in the hands of foreign merchants, such as the German League of the Hansa, with its great factory or warehouse of the Steelyard on the Thames, and the Venetians, whose argosies sailed yearly laden with wines, silk, and other products of warmer climes. The foreigners were not popular, and attacks on them were far from rare. However, during the sixteenth century the English mercantile marine steadily grew, and when in 1587 the Venetian fleet was wrecked off the Isle of Wight no further argosies were sent on what was now an unprofitable trade. The Steelyard lingered on till 1597, when Elizabeth abolished its charter.

Hitherto England's chief exports had been raw materials, especially wool to Flanders. Henry VII's two treaties with Flanders, the *Intercursus Magnus* of 1496 and the later *Intercursus Malus*, greatly benefited England, but already there were springing up trading companies on the lines of the Merchant Adventurers. The Adventurers in London were an offshoot of the Mercers Company dating back to 1407, while those of Newcastle, whose charter dates from 1480, could make out a good claim to represent the old Merchant Guild of the city. Apparently there were few English manufactures at first beyond the coarser kinds of cloth, but by Elizabeth's reign English manufactured goods had become very popular in European markets, thanks largely to the skill of Protestant refugees from ruined Antwerp, and in 1579 the Eastland Company was formed to wrest the Baltic market from the Hansa. In 1554 Queen Mary had chartered the Russian or Muscovy Company, which in the following reign met with much success.

As explorers the English merchants played a worthy part. Henry VII sent the Cabots on three voyages, which resulted in the discovery of Newfoundland and Labrador, and the establishment of the Bristol fishing fleets off the coasts of those lands. From Plymouth and Southampton merchants went on trading expeditions to the west coast of Africa, and later as

slave-traders to America. Drake's voyage round the world in 1577–1580 resulted indirectly in the foundation of the East India Company, originally intended to trade with China and the Isles of the Eastern Seas, while his rivals, Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh, spent one his life and the other his fortune in the attempt to establish the colony of Virginia. If the explorers sought to recover their expenses by piracy they paid dearly for success by hardship, and they spent their ill-gotten gains well.

SECTION II. FROM TUDOR MONARCHY TO CROWNED REPUBLIC, 1603–1688

CHAPTER I

THE DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS

It is clear to those studying the last years of Elizabeth's reign that a constitutional storm was brewing. The Tudors had done their work too well, for they had not only secured England from invasion and given her a leading place in the Council of the Nations, but they had so effectively crushed the nobility by the help of the middle classes that the system of a royal dictatorship was no longer necessary. Absolute in a constitutional sense the Tudors had never claimed to be; rather they had always persuaded Parliament to co-operate with them even in the most extravagant exercise of the royal authority. The King's Council had governed through the lords-lieutenant and the justices of the peace, and the latter, by the help of the county gentry, had secured for the monarch reasonably acquiescent Parliaments. When Parliament did press its views upon the Queen, as in the case of the monopolies, Elizabeth was too great a statesman to question its right. Her sole justification for extraordinary measures was the claims of national safety, and in the name of those claims she obtained the help of Parliament against Papist and Brownist alike. Happily for Elizabeth, she died before the question arose as to what course the monarch should pursue when a Parliament, free from the fear of foreign invasion, should challenge the monarch's right to the final voice both at home and abroad.

No king could have been more unfortunate in the moment of his accession than James I. Although Parliament did not officially lay before him its famous "Apology," the contents of that document were not unknown to him, and constituted a challenge he was not slow to take up. Put briefly, the House

of Commons declared that it would no longer rest content with its position under Elizabeth, and that it had only shrunk from demanding its rights earlier in consideration of the age, sex, and achievements of the late sovereign. James was by no means willing to accept any plan to diminish the power of that throne to which he believed himself called by direct Divine interposition. Legally, that is according to the will of Henry VIII, his own claims were inferior to those of William Seymour, grandson of Catherine Grey, and in view of the execution for treason of Mary Queen of Scots, and also his own alien status, the claims of his cousin Arabella Stuart were stronger than his own. Only on her death-bed, if then, had Elizabeth acknowledged the rights of James, and but for the ingenuity of the younger Cecil James might have found his accession opposed. Scarcely had he reached London when the Main plot in favour of Arabella was discovered, formed by some of the leading men, including Cobham and Raleigh, and there was also a Bye plot to force toleration from him. The whole reign of James in Scotland had been one long struggle against the Kirk and the nobles, against those who would influence his policy or control his person, and he had looked forward to the day when he should enjoy the more untrammelled authority of the Ruler of England.

At once the Puritans presented their Millenary Petition, which was so called from being supposed to contain the signatures of 1000 ministers who desired Church reform, and early in January 1604 James presided at the Hampton Court Conference over a mixed Anglican and Puritan assembly. The Puritans had become somewhat chastened under Whitgift's stern handling, and now asked not for the abolition of episcopacy, but for the taking away of certain ceremonies, such as baptism of infants with the sign of the cross, the use of the ring in marriage, and bowing at the sacred name of Jesus. They also desired certain verbal reforms in the Prayer Book, the optional use of the surplice and cap, the abolition of pluralities, and a modification of Church discipline and the powers of the Court of High Commission. In no case would James have made any real concession, for most of the demands as to ceremonies had been repeatedly refused by Elizabeth, but one Puritan spokesman suggested that the powers of the bishops might be modified by the association with them of certain presbyters. James then blazed out in most unroyal, if

shrewd scorn. He told the Puritans that a "Presbytery agreeth with monarchy as well as God with the devil." The memory of all his old troubles came back. "No bishop" meant "No king," and the objectors must either resign their ministry or conform. Bancroft, the High Church Bishop of London, in his delight flattered James most grossly, but the Conference did result in certain administrative reforms and the issue of the stately and sonorous Authorized Version of the Bible which, with all its faults, profoundly if insensibly modified the outlook of the clergy of both parties. Whitgift's opportune death secured the primacy for Bancroft, and the High Church Party was fatally linked with the royal cause.

In the same year James met his first Parliament. The Commons challenged his claim to decide disputed elections in the famous case of Goodwin *versus* Fortescue, and they were by no means disposed to accept the royal opinion of the Puritans. Thanks to royal influence in the House of Lords, the Puritans obtained no relief, but they had the satisfaction of seeing the King forced to assent to severe laws against the Papists. James had hoped to extend Elizabeth's system of tacit toleration to peaceful Romanists, but he was compelled to issue a proclamation banishing Popish priests and ordering the strict execution of the Penal Laws. Moreover, despite the load of debt he had inherited, he received no more than the usual grant of Tonnage and Poundage, and Parliament flatly refused to accept the royal plan for the union of England and Scotland.

The Puritans might hope for relief through Parliament, but the Romanists had no friends, for James could not afford to lose the income from the recusants' fines in view of Parliament's niggardly grant. Some of the wilder Romanists, headed by Catesby, formed a plot to blow up the King and Parliament with gunpowder. Guy Fawkes, a Yorkshireman of good family, though at this time a mercenary soldier, was to fire the train, but repeated postponements of Parliament's day of meeting forced the conspirators to apply for additional funds, and a warning letter to Lord Mounteagle, a relation of one of the conspirators, Francis Tresham, led to Fawkes' discovery. Of course the Jesuits were blamed for the plot, and all Papists shared the odium. Actually Father Garnet, the Superior of the English Jesuits, learnt of the plot in confession. Forbidden by his vows to reveal his knowledge, he attempted to hold back

the conspirators until he had persuaded the Pope to forbid the execution of the plot. Meanwhile the Government had not been wholly ignorant of Catesby's design, and innocent and guilty alike suffered. The inevitable Penal Laws followed, and this time, thanks to the disgust felt at the plot by many peaceable Romanists, one of the laws effectually broke the unity of the Romanists. By it an oath of allegiance might be taken by Papists denying that they accepted the Pope's claim to depose heretical monarchs, and, though the terms of the oath were unnecessarily offensive, an increasing number of Romanists felt able to take it, as James hoped. Such Romanists saw in the King their only refuge from persecution, and in the Civil War they rendered yeoman service to Charles I. In turn, the Stuart kings extended a tacit yet very real toleration.

Even Elizabeth would have found Parliament hard to manage at this point, but James possessed the unhappy knack of supporting quite desirable schemes by wrong methods. The judges were appointed and paid by the King, but Elizabeth had given them a reasonable liberty of remonstrance. In 1591 eleven judges had dared to make a protest against illegal commitments by the Privy Council, but James believed thoroughly in Bacon's aphorism that the judges were to be like the lions under Solomon's throne, and so vigorous supporters of the royal power. The King proposed that the judges should be arbitrators between himself and Parliament, quite forgetting that he would be appointing his own judges in the eyes of the other party. How far James consciously tampered with the judges is hard to say, but Coke was quite justified in his protest against the King's method of consulting the judges individually instead of collectively. Even when, as was often the case, their decisions were good law, men were inclined to suspect their motives. It was matterless what James intended by his consultation of the judges when the action was so palpably open to misconstruction. Finding that the House of Commons would not accept his scheme for corporate union and so free trade between England and Scotland, James obtained from the judges, by the collusive action known as Calvin's or Colville's case in 1607, a pronouncement that the Post-nati, that is, all Scotsmen born after his accession in 1603, were legally naturalized English subjects and so able to hold land in England. Parliament's utmost concession had been to repeal the hostile Border Laws.

It now occurred to James to solve other problems by the aid of the judges. As Parliament had restricted its grant to the wholly inadequate Tonnage and Poundage dues, James had been compelled to copy the Tudors in some of their less defensible actions to raise money. By statute the King was able to levy certain extra duties, called Impositions, over and above Tonnage and Poundage on goods from countries where the English merchants suffered real or fancied disadvantages. Elizabeth had found this power most profitable, and when she had to cancel the currant monopoly of the Turkey Company she had recouped herself by a small imposition on currants. Bate, one of the merchants, challenged the right of James to exact this imposition, and the King brought the matter before the Judges of the Court of Exchequer Chamber. According to the letter of the existing law, the judges rightly decided in the King's favour, 1608. Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, was treasurer, and he promptly issued a New Book of Rates considerably increasing the Customs Duties.

The House of Commons was furious, for the decision of the judges gave the King unchecked control of indirect taxation. Not only did they remonstrate against the Impositions, the High Commission Court and the Royal Proclamations, but they ruined the King's scheme—called the Great Contract—to commute his Feudal Rights for money. They next attacked Cowell's Law Dictionary for stating that the King was above the law by his absolute power and was not compelled to associate the Three Estates of Parliament with him in making laws. In startling language James had already lectured them upon his royal rights, and in 1611 he dissolved Parliament in anger. However, so bankrupt was the Royal Treasury, even under Salisbury, that the Order of Baronets was instituted as a means of raising money: each recipient of the honour had to make a substantial contribution to the King.

The King's extravagance and generosity increased the deficit already existing, and when Salisbury died James lost his last wise counsellor and only hope for a constitutional settlement. His own perverse ingenuity now had full sway. He seems to have designed the creation of a new nobility dependent on himself and able to balance the influence of the Commons, but perhaps his most disastrous expedient was the system of governing through favourites, who would amuse him and at

the same time give him leisure for the higher walks of statecraft by relieving him of the more ungrateful part of government. His first choice was unfortunate. Robert Ker or Carr, created Earl of Somerset, was quite unfit for any position of trust. He sold his influence unblushingly, and finally, after being detected as an accessory to his wife's scheme for the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury, his former mentor, he was disgraced. His successor was the handsome George Villiers, created Duke of Buckingham, who under happier auspices might have served the State well, but his rise was too meteoric, and the foolish indulgence of the old king ruined any noble impulses the favourite might have had. Both favourites were in turn the tools of the Spanish ambassador, and helped to deprive the King's foreign policy of any chance of success. James had made peace with Spain as soon as possible, but was as little disposed as his predecessor to allow either the Counter-Reformation or its adversaries to triumph. His theoretical knowledge was great, but he never understood the real facts of the situation either at home or abroad. He had no money for war, and so he proposed to marry first his elder son Henry, and then on his death his second son Charles to a Spanish Infanta and pay off his debts with her dowry. At the same time he intended to marry his daughter to a Protestant German prince and to use his connection with both parties to stave off the great religious struggle on the Continent. The Spanish marriage was most unpopular in England, for the Protestants were convinced that the Spaniards would demand the repeal of the Penal Laws, while the mercantile party were still smarting from the prohibition of their profitable piracy. The Protestant marriage took place in 1613, and the bridegroom, Frederick the Elector Palatine, was most popular.

Perhaps the Spanish Government had few illusions as to the real situation, but the negotiations served to keep James friendly despite the threatening outlook in Germany. The last great Elizabethan, Raleigh, was executed in 1618 nominally for his share in the Bye plot of 1604, but really to appease Spain's resentment at a raid on South America which could not plead success as a condonation. James was helpless so long as he could be kept from agreement with his subjects, and the fiasco of the "Addled Parliament" of 1614, which ended in the imprisonment of certain members, seemed to show that the estrangement would not be easily cured. In 1618

the Elector Palatine foolishly accepted the throne of Bohemia from the Calvinists, although he knew that the act meant war with the Archduke Ferdinand, the rival claimant, and the Counter-Reformation, and almost at once lost both Bohemia and his own dominions. James had warned him not to look for English assistance in a war of aggression, but the Thirty Years War which now broke out transcended mere pedantic definitions. Frederick's rival in Bohemia, the Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria, became Emperor. He was the champion of the Counter-Reformation and the brother-in-law of Philip III of Spain. The English people instinctively realized that if their princess—the Queen of Hearts, as she was called—was not to be an exile, their king must argue with the sword as well as with diplomacy. When it was too late James allowed a small English force to help in the defence of the Palatinate, and its failure before overwhelming Spanish forces led James to summon his third Parliament.

The King met his third Parliament in the spirit of his favourite text, "Blessed are the peacemakers," and proposed not war, but the sending of yet another embassy to Vienna. The Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, had just returned, and was dangling before James the possibility of a marriage between Charles, now Prince of Wales, and the Infanta. So far as James saw his course clearly he was scheming to obtain the position of arbitrator in Germany, and hoped to obtain the Palatinate as a dowry for the Infanta. If he could not restore the Palatinate to Frederick in this way, he would perhaps have attempted, though most reluctantly, to use force. The King's mistake was twofold; he could only obtain the Spanish marriage by the impossible terms of a repeal of the Penal Laws, to which Parliament would never consent, and he did not realize the folly of expecting concessions to be made to a heretic prince by the triumphant Counter-Reformation. Moreover, the Calvinists of Germany were in no mood for peace.

The House of Commons felt James was wrong, but they had no able leader. In their perplexity they attacked the evils at home, which they realized only too well. Government by the Royal Council was a legacy from the Tudors, but it had not been a success under James despite the Council's good intentions. Desiring to help on national prosperity, James and his Council had granted monopolies to certain companies for

the manufacture of glass, soap, gold thread, and other articles on the understanding that such monopolies would increase the national wealth by introducing fresh trade. James had not technically infringed the Elizabethan statute, for the new monopolies were not granted to individuals—the point that the statute dealt with—nor had he personally received great gain from his concessions. It is probably true also that the courtiers who helped to obtain the concessions did not reap fabulous sums, as critics maintained; but even allowing for the influence of the mercantile theories of that age it is impossible to defend some of the grants. Certainly the monopolists abused their powers, especially those connected with the manufacture of gold and silver thread and the licensing of inns. James did not attempt to defend the monopolists, and Sir Giles Mompesson, the most guilty, was impeached. This revival of impeachment—that is, an accusation by the House of Commons with the House of Lords acting as judges—links Parliament's action with that of the Good Parliament of 1376, and is significant of the future.

Another victim of the Commons was the Lord Chancellor Bacon, "the greatest, wisest, meanest of mankind." He was accused of receiving bribes while exercising his judicial authority. He was found guilty and heavily punished, and James never dared to employ him again. And yet Bacon was guilty of little more than carelessness in following the corrupt but recognized custom of increasing his scanty official pay by receiving presents. His real offence was different. To Parliament, he represented a theory of government by which the King chose his own ministers. Bacon preferred the royal authority to parliamentary control, but, unfortunately for England, James was not wise enough to repose confidence either in the philosophy of his Lord Chancellor or the legal acumen of Chief Justice Coke, his rival. He did not want advisers, but clerks who would save him trouble to carry out his instructions.

Meanwhile the embassy of Digby to Vienna failed hopelessly, and James came reluctantly to the conclusion that he could only help Frederick by fighting the Emperor. The Commons, however, desired him to declare war on Spain, in whom they saw, perhaps wrongly, the cause of the trouble. They proceeded to tell James that he ought to put himself at the head of the Protestants, to enforce the Penal Laws, and to

marry Charles to a Protestant princess. The result was an undignified but constitutionally important wrangle. James told the House that it had no right to give advice on matters upon which he had not consulted them. They vigorously protested their right to treat of any business they pleased, and maintained that their liberties were not as James maintained, royal concessions, but their national birthright. James dissolved Parliament in anger, and tore the protest out of the Commons Journal; but he would have no money to carry out his schemes if he alienated the sympathies of Parliament, and it was a futile revenge to imprison Coke, Pym, and Selden for their opposition.

James still refused to go to war with Spain, but, using the explanation of Richard III's statute furnished by the Crown lawyers in 1614, he collected two "voluntary" benevolences to enable him to help the English troops in the Palatinate. His troops were defeated by the Imperialists, and the Spaniards gave him only fair words. At last, in despair, he listened to a wild plan formed by "Steenie"—his pet name for Buckingham—and allowed the favourite and "Baby Charles" to go to Spain secretly as Tom and John Smith, so that Charles might woo the Infanta in person. Buckingham was sure that his own diplomatic gifts could smooth out all difficulties. As a diplomatist Buckingham failed miserably, and in a short time Charles was so angered by the shifty attitude of the Spanish Court and the ludicrous results of his futile attempts to woo the Infanta in person that he passed from being an eager wooer to a bitter opponent of the Spanish marriage. Fearing for his son's life, James had made impossible concessions, and on the Prince's return to England the nation was delighted to learn that he and the favourite were demanding war with Spain.

Much against his will, the old king had to summon a fourth Parliament and declare war against Spain. Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, who had almost made the royal income and expenditure balance in time of peace, opposed the war from motives of economy. The Prince and Buckingham hounded on the Commons to impeach him for bribery, despite a shrewd warning from the King, but they were not able to get supplies for the favourite's new scheme of a war in Germany, and the suggested marriage of Charles with Henrietta Maria, the French king's sister, was steadily opposed. The French king

insisted on a certain toleration for Roman Catholics, and James had to make such concessions that only a succesful war would enable him to meet Parliament.

Buckingham promised money to the Dutch and to the Danes for their help; he proposed to fit out a fleet against Spain and to send an army to assist the French in an expedition against the Spaniards in the Palatinate. However, the English expedition under Mansfeld was a grievous disaster, due largely to gross mismanagement. Buckingham formed even wilder schemes rather than face Parliament, and in the midst of the crisis James died. He had followed Buckingham against his better judgment, for despite his claims to absolute authority he realized the necessity of not offending his people too deeply. James did not wholly deserve Sully's scorn as "the Wisest Fool in Christendom," but he was certainly unfit to be King of England at the time the nation had outgrown its constitution. He was kingly in neither person nor manners, and his vast learning was that of an antiquary rather than that of a statesman. His cowardice or his caution postponed the constitutional crisis, but his teachings had not equipped his successor for the great task before him.

CHAPTER II

THE CAUSES OF THE CIVIL WAR

It was unfortunate that Charles I became king in the midst of failure. During his father's reign the opposition had centred about the two vexed questions of religion and taxation. The middle classes who so largely controlled the House of Commons were the persons most affected by proposals for fresh taxation, and though by no means in all cases Puritan in religion they sympathized with the Puritans more and more as they saw the High Church Party championing the views of the King with voice and pen. Even the Tudor interpretation of the King's position in the State had been challenged by Parliament, and James I had only avoided an open rupture by timely concessions. Charles I was quite unfit to handle the delicate situation now rapidly developing, and he had an unhappy gift of evoking opposition.

Before Parliament met Charles married the French princess

by proxy and promised concessions to the Papists. He dared not ask Parliament for any definite sum of money, and not only was the actual grant he received insufficient even to pay for the expeditions that had already miscarried, but the House of Commons refused to make the grant of Tonnage and Poundage for life as usual, and proposed to limit the grant to one year only, desiring a settlement in their favour of the King's claim to levy impositions. Suspecting the terms of the French marriage, Parliament also pressed Charles to enforce the laws against Roman Catholics, and when Charles attempted to explain his financial needs they not only refused further grants, but brought matters to a crisis by attacking Buckingham.

To save Buckingham and incidentally to protect himself from control by the Commons, Charles dissolved Parliament. He risked trouble with his wife and with France by withdrawing his promises to the Recusants in the hope of conciliating his subjects, and by great exertion he managed to dispatch a large but ill-found fleet and army to attack Cadiz and lie in wait for the Plate fleet. The King's expectation of appeasing Parliament by a great victory was disappointed, and in the meantime Buckingham had been promising fresh subsidies to the King of Denmark, and the English Government, fearing that the French King would resent the terms of the Marriage Treaty, had actually lent him ships for use against the Protestants of La Rochelle. Charles finally managed to offend Louis by attempting to mediate on behalf of the Huguenots.

The King hoped to find Parliament less hostile, as he had cleverly kept his chief opponents in their own counties by making them sheriffs; but the House of Commons obtained an even abler leader in Sir John Eliot. Eliot had formerly supported Buckingham, but was now convinced of his incapacity. He had a fanatical belief in the wisdom of the House of Commons, which was redeemed by his noble scorn for base and treacherous deeds. He was no more statesmanlike than Buckingham, whom he denounced as Sejanus—the author of all that was deplorable in the King's policy. He ended by drawing on himself the implacable hostility of the King, who knew that whatever the favourite's misdoings had been he was not solely responsible for the royal actions. By this time Charles had no doubts as to his own rights or his own capacity, and he saw—not wholly without cause—an attack on himself in the attempt of Parliament to dictate his

choice of ministers. Parliament was again dismissed, although it had not voted any money.

Failing to obtain money from Parliament, Charles asked his subjects for a free gift. Money came in slowly, and Christian IV of Denmark was beaten at Lütter by the Imperialists partly because Charles could not send him money. In a belated attempt to keep his promise Charles levied a forced loan, but had to spend most of the money not in helping Denmark, but in defending himself against Louis XIII of France and in attempting to protect the Huguenots of La Rochelle. Charles had sent back his wife's French attendants because they harped on his failure to keep the conditions of the Marriage Treaty, and the King had good grounds for thinking that the resulting war would be popular. However, the force sent to help La Rochelle by capturing the Isle of Rhé was led by the unpopular Buckingham, and, as Charles could not raise money to send him reinforcements, the expedition failed disastrously and the favourite became more unpopular than ever.

So far Charles had not been granted Tonnage and Poundage, but he had levied it as usual, and moreover, had not scrupled to imprison any persons who had refused to pay the forced loan. The disaster at Rhé encouraged some of the victims—known in history as "The Five Knights"—to demand their writ of *habeas corpus* from the judges. The demand of Darnel, one of them, became a test case. He was refused either his freedom or a trial under the writ on the ground that he was committed "by special command of the King." The judges could indeed quote dubious Tudor precedents, but Charles won a pyrrhic victory, for all who loved freedom challenged this interpretation of the law. As Charles billeted soldiers and sailors on other recalcitrants and punished opposition by martial law, he had ranged almost the entire nation against him.

The King proposed yet another expedition and asked his third Parliament for supplies. This time Eliot found an able supporter in Sir Thomas Wentworth, one of the Yorkshire members. The new leader had little more faith than the King in the wisdom of the House of Commons, but believed that the Sovereign should choose the ablest men as his ministers and that Parliament, having confidence in them, should freely grant supplies, its main if not sole function in Wentworth's eyes.

However, he joined Eliot in attacking Buckingham, but on the different ground that his incompetency made him a danger to the State. Wentworth defiantly said that redress of grievances must precede the granting of the supplies asked for by the King, and his fiery eloquence persuaded members to press on Charles the famous Petition of Right, which was really a commentary on the illegalities of the reign.

The Petition of Right—the first successful attempt to limit the power of the Crown since Tudor times, and sometimes styled the second of the great constitutional documents of English history—demanded that no man should be compelled to pay any gift, loan, benevolence, or tax without the authorization of Parliament; that no man should be imprisoned without a trial as the Five Knights had been; that there should be no more billeting of soldiers or sailors in private houses, and that there should be no further attempt to punish soldiers and sailors by martial law—that is, by other than the ordinary law courts. Charles struggled hard to evade the acceptance of the second clause, but a fresh attempt to relieve Rochelle had failed, and Charles had to accept the Petition before the House of Commons would vote any supplies. After making a grant of money, the members proceeded to attack Buckingham and to press for other reforms both in Church and State. This time Charles prorogued Parliament instead of dissolving it, and he hoped that Buckingham's new expedition would be so successful that Parliament would forget their charges and abate their demands.

Lack of courage was not one of Buckingham's faults, and although he was quite aware of his own unpopularity he took no precautions against assassination, saying that "there were no Roman spirits left." However, a Puritan fanatic, one John Felton, stabbed him just as the expedition was about to sail, justifying revenge for private wrongs by the Commons' charges against the favourite. Few condemned and many praised the deed, but Charles would not take warning. Once more the fleet was ordered to attempt the relief of La Rochelle, but the town surrendered, and Charles, overwhelmed by debt and disgrace, had again to face an angry Parliament.

Charles was genuinely alarmed and actually seemed anxious to conciliate the Commons. Just before the recent prorogation the Commons had challenged his right to levy Tonnage and Poundage without a grant on the dubious ground that it

contravened the Petition of Right. Now as some merchants had refused to pay, Charles offered to waive the royal right as declared in Bate's case and sought an accommodation with Parliament. Had the ostensible cause of quarrel been the only one Charles might have made his peace by a small concession, but nothing short of complete surrender would now satisfy the Commons, for the religious side of the dispute was being emphasized by the members even more than the financial.

It is difficult for us to understand the attitude taken up by Parliament if it is looked at apart from contemporary foreign history. The proposed Spanish marriage and the actual French marriage were identified by the middle classes as a prelude to the restoration of the papal power in England, since they would inevitably lead to a toleration of Romanism. That the Romanists would "press from an equality to a supremacy" seemed clear to men who heard from refugees of the triumphs of the Counter-Reformation in Germany and refused to believe in the sincerity of the great French minister, Cardinal Richelieu, when he granted religious toleration to the Huguenots. The English were then people of one book—the Bible, generally of the bitterly anti-papal Genevan version, and if they read any other work it was the even more anti-papal *Book of Martyrs* by Foxe.

Englishmen in their hatred of political Romanism were especially attracted to the anti-Roman doctrine of Predestination as taught by Calvin, and the new High Church Party, forgetting the philosophic arguments of Hooker, sought easy and useless victories by proving that Calvinism, at least in its extremer forms, had no place in the Elizabethan settlement. It is a commonplace of theological criticism now that the Thirty-nine Articles are patent of several meanings, but unfortunately Richard Montague, one of the High Church pamphleteers, provoked the dominant Calvinists to attempt to stifle the discussion by force as argument failed them, and they were no match for Montague even in invective. Naturally Montague and two of his friends, Sibthorpe and Mainwaring, placed their pulpits and pens at the King's disposal and gratuitously offended moderate men by scornful language about the place of Parliament in the constitution. As Charles rewarded them by Church preferment, the quarrel as to the meaning of the Articles grew fiercer than ever, and became inextricably mixed up with that as to the limits of the Royal Prerogative.

It was in vain that Charles issued the Declaration now prefixed to the Articles; the High Church Party willingly agreed not to preach about Predestination, as they considered the matter unimportant in comparison with their other efforts to introduce "decency and due order" into the performance of the Church service, but to the Calvinists the King's action was only another proof of his treason to Protestantism, which became more and more identified with the Puritan view of the Prayer Book and its theology. Other High Church writers, more cautious but not less obnoxious, defended views which seemed to the infuriated Calvinists little better than Romanism.

It was unfortunate that at this juncture, when men's religious passions ran high, one of the merchants, named Rolle, whose goods had been seized by the King's officers, was a member of the House of Commons. Eliot refused to pass over such a breach of privilege, as he perhaps wrongly termed it. Pym, more wisely, refused to make such a distinction between the victims, but both attacked the King's Declaration on the Articles. The House insisted that the Calvinist view alone was correct, and summoned the High Church clergy to Westminster to answer for their innovations in the Church service. Rather foolishly, the members supported Eliot rather than Pym; Charles, as might be expected, refused to allow his officers to appear before Parliament, although he did attempt private negotiations. As the negotiations failed the King tried to adjourn the House, and this led Eliot into another false step, as he feared that a dissolution was imminent. The Speaker was forcibly detained while on Eliot's proposal the Commons defiantly passed three resolutions, according to which Parliament would count as a national enemy and betrayer of liberty those who disagreed with its views either on religion or taxation, or paid tonnage or poundage duties (March 2, 1629). Such violence only played into the King's hands, and for eleven years no Parliament met at Westminster.

Charles began his period of personal government by imprisoning his chief opponents. Eliot preferred to die in prison rather than admit the King's right to hold him answerable for things done in Parliament, but perhaps even he did not realize that in turn he was asking Charles to allow Parliament to call the king to account and so bring about a constitutional revolution. The King had no intention of acting with conscious illegality. In his eyes, Parliament was merely an

awkward machine for obtaining money from his subjects, and if he could obtain the money required without Parliament there was no duty incumbent on him to call the members together. He had plenty of Tudor precedents to guide him, and moreover, in the eyes of many, the House of Commons under Eliot's guidance had grievously overstepped its true limits. It is even a question whether the liberty of the subject would have been any safer in the hands of Calvinist fanatics than in the hands of a pedantic legalist. That Charles was absolutely unfit for the kingly office at such a crisis is patent, but unfortunately his French wife had brought him into contact with the great non-parliamentary administration of Richelieu in France, and he more or less unconsciously began to imitate it.

The King professed to be the guardian of the laws and to be guided by them, but he insisted on controlling the judges who were the legal interpreters of those laws. Moreover, not only did he control the traditional authority of the Royal Council, but he had at his absolute disposal the special tribunals of the Star Chamber and the High Commission. Possessing neither the statesmanship of the Tudors nor the peculiar gifts of Louis XIII of France, he could not make the best use of such helpers as fortune placed in his hands. Wentworth had seceded from the Opposition when Charles accepted the Petition of Right, amid the threats of his recent associates. Perhaps because he trusted nobody Charles sent the would-be Richelieu to act as President of the Council of the North. Here his strong hand was used to crush relentlessly all opposition to the royal will. Of his good intentions there can be no doubt, and he was probably responsible for some at least of the measures by which the Privy Council attempted to secure a more equitable execution of existing laws such as the Elizabethan Poor Law. To him, the House of Commons stood for oppression of the lower classes and opposition to real justice by the lawyers and county gentry.

Only in Ireland, however, where he became lord deputy in July 1633, had Wentworth a free hand. Here he reformed the Irish Church and reduced the incompetent English officials to order. He used the mutual jealousy of Protestants and Romanists to obtain a grant of money from Parliament and thus created the means of paying an efficient army and fleet. So far as material prosperity went Ireland had seldom, if

ever, prospered more. However, if he planted the linen industry in Ulster he showed no regard for the rights of the native Irish to their lands, and projected a plantation of Connaught on the lines of Chichester's plantation of Ulster under James I. Unfortunately, the only way to make peace known to the English rulers of Ireland was first to make the land a desert so far at least as the old inhabitants were concerned. It was no consolation to the Irish that the deputy's hand was also heavy on their oppressors among the English officials, and when Wentworth was recalled to England they took their revenge in the rising of October 1641.

However, the King's inability to make the best use of Wentworth was not solely due to mistrust of that statesman, for Charles always preferred clerks to really able ministers, and the royal secretaries were seldom men of any eminence. The only outstanding figures amongst his advisers, apart from Wentworth, were Laud, Weston, and Noy. Laud was a High Churchman of the school of Montague rather than of that of the philosophic Hooker or the gentle Andrewes. Son of a Reading clothier, he had a brilliant career at Oxford, where his tutor Buckeridge was a leading anti-Calvinist. Laud was a man of undoubted intellectual gifts, but his work as President of St. John's College, successful though it was, strengthened his naturally dictatorial character. Bishop of St. David's, and later of Bath and Wells, he became the friend and spiritual adviser of Buckingham and a keen supporter of Charles. He was made Bishop of London and the King's chief ecclesiastical adviser in 1628, and it fell to him to purge the Diocese of London of its Calvinism. Perhaps Laud was unsympathetic, but he was not naturally a persecutor. If men would conform outwardly and keep the churches clean and the service reverent he asked no more. He was in practice more tolerant than the Calvinists of the House of Commons, for he was quite willing to waive the claim for unity of belief as opposed to uniformity of ceremony.

However, Laud shared the mistake of his opponents in calling in the secular arm to enforce his views. When the Puritans would not obey they were haled before the Court of High Commission or sometimes before the Star Chamber. The latter body sentenced Leighton to the pillory and imprisonment for outrageous attacks on the bishops. For scurrilous writers Laud had no mercy, but towards the

ordinary Puritan clergy he behaved not unkindly so long as there was any hope of conformity. He was more successful in securing at least outward submission than at first appeared possible in London, and in 1633 Charles made him Archbishop of Canterbury so that he might carry out a similar policy throughout the Southern Province. His Metropolitical Visitation, certainly the revival of a disused right, was resented by many, but probably steady pressure, backed up by the King, would have been as effective as under Whitgift but for troubles arising from the King's system of government.

Charles might trust Wentworth in Ireland and support Laud against the Puritans because their policy agreed with his, but there was no member of the Royal Council who held the place Richelieu held in France. The Lord Treasurer Weston had solely to find money without the help of Parliament. As Charles at once made peace with France and Spain the task was not hopeless. By strict economy old debts were gradually paid off, and old laws such as that allowing the King to enforce distraint of knighthood were refurbished up, and men had to compound for their breach by fines in the exchequer or Star Chamber. Weston, though probably himself a secret Romanist, cleverly humoured Charles by forwarding negotiations for the restitution of the Palatinate, but he devoted most of his energy to Wentworth's scheme for reconciling men to the Government by helping on commercial prosperity through royal ordinances. It was possible that men might acquiesce in the loss of Parliament if they were otherwise happy, and the victories of the Swedes had made the Romanist peril less pressing.

For the first few years of his personal government Charles met with little opposition. In the last Parliament Pym and Eliot had openly quarrelled, and other of their former followers were not yet prepared to deprive the King of all power. Wentworth and Weston were sufficiently successful at first, and even Laud found unexpected support. A system that could attract the saintly priest-poet George Herbert and the unworldly family of Nicholas Ferrar at Little Gidding could afford to dispense with the support of supple intriguers such as Williams Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Keeper under James I and patron of Puritans in his son's reign, but unfortunately Laud did not realize that even uniformity of worship could be bought too dearly when it necessitated constant distrust of

other saintly men, such as Richard Sibbes and Richard Baxter. It was not enough to tell such men as these that they must accept distasteful ceremonies at the King's command. The pity of it was that king and archbishop could never credit an opponent with good motives. Submission or exile were the only alternatives offered, and year by year the Separatists and Nonconformists streamed across the Atlantic to share the contemptuous toleration offered to the Pilgrim Fathers of the *Mayflower* at an earlier date by James I. Even the Puritans thought their cause lost, and one of them actually pleaded for toleration in England on the ground that so small a remnant could not be a danger to the State.

However, toleration was hopeless so long as men like Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick were produced by the Puritans. They were savagely punished for writings which would have in other days gained only contempt by their extravagance and scurrility, but when Laud ordered that the Holy Table in every church should be set altarwise and treated with due reverence under pain of severe punishment, he caused the conservative Englishmen to look upon both kinds of offenders as victims of the same official tyranny. When by the Queen's influence a few courtiers joined the Church of Rome, men charged Laud with the design of reintroducing Popery, not knowing or caring how many others had been prevented from following the first converts by Laud's learning and dialectical skill. Laud always professed to be a Protestant, but he vigorously refused to identify Protestantism with Calvinism or mere abuse of the papacy.

Weston died in 1635 and discretion died with him, although even his schemes for reclaiming the royal forests from noble thieves and for gaining money by fines had caused some ill-feeling. Charles now increased the impositions and granted monopolies which were often as unwise as they were illegal. Moreover, jealousy of Dutch monopoly of the fisheries and of French designs on the Spanish port of Dunkirk led him to desire a stronger fleet. Noy, the Attorney-General in 1634, had suggested the revival of ship-money, although hitherto kings had only used the writ in time of war. The first writ issued followed ancient precedents in demanding help from maritime counties only, but when Noy and Weston were both dead Charles issued a second writ in which not only was money rather than ships demanded but, contrary to precedent, inland

counties were also ordered to pay. We know now that a fleet really was necessary if only to check the Algerine pirates, but if Charles could thus demand ship-money at his discretion he would control direct as well as indirect taxation, and no Parliament need ever meet again. When men conscious of this resisted, Charles professed to be willing to allow the judges to decide his rights. Although the King had already dismissed or suspended recalcitrant judges, John Hampden, the Buckinghamshire squire—the defendant in the test case—actually succeeded in finding five out of the twelve Judges of the Exchequer Chamber willing to take his view. The other seven declared that the King was justified in levying ship-money without Parliament's grant in time of national danger, and that of such danger he alone was the judge.

The arguments of Hampden's counsel were accepted by the nation, as men now understood the inner meaning of the ship-money writ. Everywhere was discontent, and the victims of the Star Chamber now became popular heroes. Whatever the King's position in the constitution was legally, the tradition had always been that Parliament granted taxation and that the King acted through and with Parliament. If the King's necessities ever forced him to summon Parliament, the royal claims would certainly be challenged. It was the misfortune of Charles that affairs in Scotland placed him at the mercy of his English opponents. They read the King's intentions in the light of Wentworth's actions in Ireland, although Charles himself never rose to the full conception of what Wentworth and Laud understood by "thorough." To them it did not necessarily mean the personal autocracy of the Sovereign, but rather the placing of the well-being of the State, as they conceived it, above the personal interests and private wishes of any individual, however exalted. Classes, parties, prejudices were all to be disregarded by a wise and beneficent government in the true spirit of the Tudors, but neither statesman realized that such authority was not needed in the seventeenth century; the task was rather to make the Ship of State as near self-steering as possible, for it would not be safe to entrust to a purely hereditary sovereign powers which even the ablest statesman could only profitably use in a crisis. Certainly Charles I, with all his private virtues, was utterly unfitted to play the autocrat over a race with traditions of self-government. Men who loved liberty, however imperfect their conception of it

might be, would resist to the death the claims of "Right Divine to govern wrong" when the claim to tax at will affected their temporal well-being, and the claim to dictate their creed threatened their eternal happiness.

Not content with the suppression of Puritanism in England, Laud and Charles attempted to extend their ecclesiastical system to Scotland. James I had forced the Kirk to accept a nominal episcopacy, and Charles in 1633 angered the nobles by placing in the hands of the bishops the nomination of the Lords of the Articles, who were the effective part of the Scottish Parliament. Perhaps the bishops did not deserve all the hard things said of them by their opponents, but it is certain that the Prayer Book they submitted for Laud's approval was if anything more anti-Puritan in tone than the English Service Book. In 1637, a royal command that this book should be used in all Scottish churches caused a riot in St. Giles' Cathedral at Edinburgh. The Presbyterian clergy could not forgive the recent episcopal consecration of the nominal bishops, and the nobility and people heartily opposed the persistent attempts of Charles to exercise real authority in Scotland. The majority of Scotsmen eagerly signed the National Covenant binding them to restore Presbyterianism, and Charles was so badly, if not treacherously, served by his representative, Hamilton, that the Glasgow Assembly abolished both Prayer Book and episcopate. Charles led a small force to Berwick, but found that the Scottish army, assisted by the soldiers of fortune now home from Germany, was too strong to attack. The First Bishops' War, as it was called, ended in the Treaty of Berwick, under which a new ecclesiastical General Assembly and a new Parliament were to settle the questions raised.

When these bodies met they proved so intractable that Charles prepared for a fresh war. He recalled Wentworth from Ireland and made him Earl of Strafford, without, however, entrusting him with the full control of the war. The Earl proposed that Parliaments should be called both at Dublin and Westminster to vote money. As he expected, the Irish Parliament proved most generous, for the Roman Catholic members hoped to obtain toleration in return, but the English Parliament, headed by Pym, flatly refused to make any grants unless Charles would formally redress all their grievances. When he learnt that they were going to propose that he should make similar concessions to the Scots, the King at once dissolved

Parliament, May 5, 1640. Its three weeks' session earned for it the title of the Short Parliament.

The Scots, convinced that Charles meant to renew the war, decided to take advantage of his difficulties with Parliament and strike first. The Second Bishops' War was disastrous to Charles. His army, composed of pressed men, openly sympathized with the Puritans and the Scots, and Charles, despite all his attempts, could not raise money enough to buy loyalty. The Scots poured into Northumberland, and, defeating the royal army at Newburn-on-Tyne, forced Charles to open negotiations from Ripon. Strafford realized that the war was hopeless, and Charles had not only to promise the Scots £850 a day so long as the negotiations lasted, but had also to accept the advice of a Great Council of Peers held at York and summon the famous Long Parliament of November 3, 1640. Only by keeping peace could Charles have retained his power, for war meant that he must have money, and money could only come through Parliament. When the Long Parliament met the Puritan Revolution had already begun, and as many of the members sympathized with the rebellious Scots we might almost say that the Civil War had begun also.

CHAPTER III

THE PURITAN REVOLUTION

The Puritans formed a compact body in the Long Parliament on its first meeting, and as the protagonists of the struggle with Laud obtained a far larger representation than they were entitled to by their actual numbers. Their chief leaders were the lawyer John Pym and his friend John Hampden. Pym was a born parliamentary leader, but no statesman. He desired to overthrow Strafford and to replace the autocracy of the King by the autocracy of the House of Commons, which was to reform the English Church on Presbyterian lines. Apparently he never realized the difficulty of government by an assembly such as the House of Commons, nor did he dare to suggest the deposition of the King. Pym, however, could not trust Charles with any power, as in his schemes to use the Scots against the King he had incurred a charge of treason which would have been quite sufficient to

justify his execution. Hampden blindly followed Pym, but neither of them would have assented to the execution of Charles. There was also a right wing of the Puritan Party ready to accept a modified episcopacy and a reformed Prayer Book, although it was far less vigorous than the left wing, which rapidly developed under the leadership of Sir Harry Vane the younger, and Oliver Cromwell, cousin of Hampden.

As after events showed, the Anglicans under Hyde and Falkland comprised nearly half of the Parliament, but at first both parties worked together. They refused to grant supplies until the King met their wishes, for the presence of the Scots at Newcastle was the surest guarantee of his complaisance. Instead, Pym proposed the impeachment of Strafford in a speech which arraigned Charles quite as much as his minister. Pym was handicapped by the very definiteness of the Treason Statute passed in the twenty-fifth year of Edward III, and the Lords were not even convinced when young Sir Harry Vane produced notes of a speech by Strafford at a meeting of the Royal Council which Pym interpreted as an incitement to Charles to use his Irish army against his English enemies. The accused statesman, although suffering from a painful disease, defended himself so well that the impeachment was dropped and a Bill of Attainder substituted. No evidence was now necessary, and Strafford nobly released his king from the guarantee of his personal safety and paid for his loyalty by his death. That he was the defender of a mistaken system of government is not more true than that he died because his enemies feared him.

When Pym brought in the Bill of Attainder the Revolution began, and henceforth he was hurried along by the forces he had unchained, and it is idle to discuss the illegality or legality of the actions of either party. Neither Charles nor Parliament could trust each other after this, and the King had to agree to measures for the automatic meeting of Parliament at least once in three years and for the duration of the existing Parliament until it should agree to its own dissolution. Ship-money was declared illegal, and the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission were abolished, their victims being compensated. Then Parliament made a treaty with the Scots possible by paying the King's debts to them, and the Scottish army returned home.

So far there had been complete harmony in Parliament, and even when Laud had been imprisoned the Anglicans had

acquiesced and his "innovations" had been abolished. A change came, however, when the Puritans carried through the Commons a Bill to restrain the powers of the bishops in secular matters, and when the Lords rejected it the two parties in the House of Commons quarrelled openly on a "Root and Branch" Bill which was to abolish episcopacy. Lord Falkland and his friends appeared as a Moderate Party desiring to find a compromise by which bishops should act by the advice of their clergy, and they were supported by Edward Hyde, the lawyer who had indeed opposed the exercise of temporal authority by the bishops but had no sympathy with what he and his friends considered Puritan fanaticism. They desired also that the King should have the power to choose his own ministers so long as they were reasonable men who would act according to law and with some consideration for the opinions of Parliament.

This Moderate Party grew steadily, as men became dissatisfied at the heavy taxation Parliament had to impose, and perhaps also because many of the Members of Parliament grew disgusted and alarmed at the open encouragement shown by Pym and his friends to the London mobs who thronged about the Houses of Parliament. Had Charles been a statesman and trusted his new supporters instead of being content merely to admit Hyde and Falkland to office, while behind their backs he intrigued to suppress Parliament by force, all might yet have gone well. Pym had his personal reasons for distrusting Charles, and the King played into his hands.

Charles learnt that the Scots were quarrelling among themselves, and one of their leaders, Montrose, offered to prove to Charles that his rival Argyll, the friend of Pym, was a traitor. Charles went to Edinburgh, only to find Montrose in prison and himself compelled to accept Argyll's terms that the latter should be allowed to govern Scotland on condition that he did not help the English Puritans. Pym had his spies in Scotland, and guessed what he could not definitely learn from them. Before he could devise plans to checkmate the King he heard even more ominous news from Ireland; freed from the fear of Strafford, the native Irish of Ulster had risen in rebellion, and although it seems from later investigation that their misdeeds were exaggerated by the fear of the fugitives, sufficient basis existed in the stories of the atrocities to warrant the King in asking for an army to restore order in Ireland.

The only armed force known to the law was the militia or

Trained Bands, which the King controlled through the Lords-Lieutenant, but it was so disorganized that only by the help of Parliament could it be equipped with arms and supplies. Since the King's return from Scotland he had regained some popularity even in London, and Pym was not wrong in his surmise that with an army at his disposal Charles would hang his chief enemies and retract his concessions. Therefore, instead of proposing to grant supplies, Pym brought into the House of Commons the Grand Remonstrance, which was an indictment of every royal action in the past. The Moderates fiercely resisted Pym's proposal to pass it as being an unfair attempt to disturb the harmony already arrived at. They saw in it what it was—a vote of no confidence in the King—and did not sympathize with Pym in his last desperate measure of self-defence. Pym could afford to show no quarter, and so he asked for the appointment of ministers responsible to Parliament and for the reform of the Church—of course on Puritan lines—by a body nominated by Parliament.

Pym carried his point by eleven votes, and the Grand Remonstrance was printed and issued as the Puritans' appeal to the nation. However, he thereby gave Charles a party for the first time in his reign, as the Moderates, believing that he had learnt his lesson, joined with the King to defend the Church against Puritan innovation. Religion alone gave Charles a party, and numerically that party was stronger than its adversaries. Once more Charles missed his chance of rallying the nation to him. Legally, Pym and several of his friends were guilty of treason for their intercourse with the Scots. Misled by the enthusiasm of the city of London, he ordered the Attorney-General to impeach them before the House of Lords. Technically, he should have first asked the Commons to impeach the guilty ones, but when the accusation of the Attorney-General did not lead to the arrest of Pym and his friends Charles committed another blunder by attempting to make the arrest himself. As he was accompanied—perhaps with no ulterior motive—by a body of armed men, the Commons not only warned the accused to flee, but also persisted in seeing in the bodyguard an attempt to coerce them. Many of the members left Westminster for the city, and the Londoners flocked to their defence. The King left Whitehall for Hampton Court, and the question was narrowed down to the simple one of whether Charles or Parliament

should control the militia. The Londoners held the balance of power.

As the King refused to accept a Bill which would give Parliament control of the militia, they issued it as an "ordinance" —that is, without the royal assent—and began to call out the Trained Bands in the south-eastern districts, which favoured them, and nominated commanders from their own party. Charles in turn made his way to York, and issued Commissions of Array to the leading nobility and gentry on his side, authorizing them to raise men for his service. On August 22, 1642, he set up his standard at Nottingham, and the majority of the members of the House of Lords and nearly half the House of Commons rallied to him. The Royalist forces were composed of two quite distinct elements. The followers of Hyde and Falkland were fighting for the retention of the Elizabethan settlement as they conceived it, and for the old constitution in which King and Parliament each respected the other's rights. Charles used them, but had he triumphed it is very doubtful if he would have been content with the constitutional position assigned to him by Hyde. He preferred the unreasoning loyalty of men like Browning's Kentish Sir Byng, who asked only to be allowed to make the King's enemies his footstool, and this second party proved both his strength and his weakness.

Roughly speaking, North-West England, Wales, and Cornwall were the King's strongholds; while East Anglia, London, and the South-East generally supported Parliament. The Midlands were divided. Nottinghamshire and the Oxford district were Royalist strongholds, and south of the Thames Charles found much support as far east as Winchester, thanks to the heroism of Sir Ralph Hopton, his Cornish leader. However, the only port he possessed was Newcastle, while Hull, Plymouth, Gloucester, and Bristol all held out for Parliament. Even in Yorkshire the clothing towns of the West Riding opposed him. Thus his forces were split up into three divisions, and as the King's object was to march an army upon London, this factor was important.

Not only was Charles handicapped by the geographical distribution of his forces, but he was even more troubled by want of money. Parliament levied the customs dues, and was enthusiastically supported by the rich Londoners, while the King had to rely upon the generous but wholly inadequate

gifts of his followers and the Universities, who melted down their plate for him. Although he had sent the Queen to Holland to raise money by pawning the Crown jewels, Parliament held command of the sea, and few reinforcements either of money or men could reach him. However, at first Charles had the better soldiers and leaders, especially in cavalry. Essex, the parliamentary general, was most unenterprising, not to say incompetent. He failed utterly at Edgehill, and only Rupert's recklessness saved the Parliamentarians from defeat. Technically the battle was drawn, but Charles easily made his way to Oxford and then to Brentford. But for the bold stand of Major Skippen and the London Trained Bands at Turnham Green the King would have ended the struggle at one blow.

Oliver Cromwell, civilian though he was, saw the weakness of the hired unenthusiastic militia when opposed by the dashing cavalry and devoted infantry of the King. He told Hampden, his cousin, that the Royalists could only be beaten by "men of a spirit" who believed in the cause for which they fought. Soon Cromwell had increased his troop to a regiment recruited from the sturdy Puritan yeomen of East Anglia and their sons. He was at first of small account, but his turn came when the gallant Sir Ralph Hopton had rallied the Royalists of the south-western counties and overthrown the militia of Sir William Waller in the successive battles of Lansdowne and Roundaway Down. The Royalists were finally checked by their unwillingness to leave Plymouth and Gloucester behind them in Parliament's hands, nor would the Royalists under Newcastle leave Yorkshire despite their victory at Adwalton Moor, near Bradford, so long as Fairfax held Hull for Parliament. Meanwhile Cromwell, now the General of the Eastern Counties Association, began his career of victory at Gainsborough, and a few weeks later he and Fairfax defeated Newcastle at Winceby, in South Lincolnshire.

Winceby was the most important Parliamentarian victory in 1643. Hampden had fallen in a skirmish at Chalgrove, near Oxford, and Prince Rupert had sacked Bristol. Even Gloucester was only with difficulty relieved by a daring march of the London Trained Bands under Essex. On his return by the southern road Essex barely escaped defeat at the first battle of Newbury, where Falkland sought and found death, and Charles retired to Oxford to prepare for another swoop on London in the spring. Pym was becoming somewhat disil-

lusioned as to his position, and knowing that even in London men were becoming tired of the unsuccessful war, he opened up negotiations with Argyll for the dispatch of a Scottish army to threaten Charles's forces in the north. The resulting treaty was called the Solemn League and Covenant, and bound the Scots to send a large force across the border on condition that the English Church should be reformed. Sir Harry Vane the younger was Pym's agent, and he cleverly tricked the Scots. They proposed that the English Church should be reformed "according to the example of the best reformed churches"; but Vane added "according to the Word of God," for he and his friends had no intention of establishing an English Church free from parliamentary control according to the model of the Scottish Kirk, and desired a loophole of escape.

Pym died December 8, 1643, just before the Scottish force entered England. He had invited them and only just in time; Charles had made a temporary peace with the Irish, called "the Cessation," and his agent, the Marquis of Ormonde, had actually dispatched an Irish army to England. Charles had also summoned a Parliament to meet at Oxford in 1644. Unfortunately for Charles his "mongrel Parliament" was no real help, and the Irish army was ruined at Nantwich by Fairfax. He himself had to escape from Oxford to avoid a siege by Waller and Essex. His only good fortune that year was the quarrel of these two generals; they parted their forces, and not only was Rupert able to beat Waller at Cropredy Bridge, but even Essex, driven into Cornwall by Charles, was glad to abandon his army at Lostwithiel and escape by sea.

The King's success had come too late, for a month earlier, on July 2, Rupert's army had been utterly ruined at Marston Moor. When the Scots crossed the border the Royalist commander Newcastle was forced to retreat into York, as he was also threatened by the victorious Fairfax. After Cropredy, Rupert hurried north by forced marches and cleverly relieved York. Unfortunately for Charles, Rupert decided to fight the Allies although he was hopelessly outnumbered, since Manchester and Cromwell were also present at Marston Moor. For a moment it seemed as though the dashing Royalist horsemen would win, for the Scots gave way in confusion. However, Cromwell's regiment of Ironsides, his "lovely company," were made of sterner stuff, and the Royalist infantry were

indeed but "as stubble to their swords," for the Ironsides, alone of the cavalry of the period, could re-form for a second or even a third or fourth charge. As soldiers, the Scots had not been a success, but their pressure had cost Charles one of his best armies and the control of the North. They marched south and besieged Newark, while in Scotland itself the gallant Montrose, enthusiastically backed by the Highlanders, harried Argyll's supporters from Inverlochy to Aberdeen in a magnificent series of victories. However, the success of Montrose, like the triumph of Lostwithiel, was more brilliant than useful, and by the end of the summer of 1645 a defeat at Philiphaugh, near the Border, drove him into exile.

After Marston Moor, Cromwell and Manchester hurried south, but although they were too late to save Essex they met the King in the second battle of Newbury. Manchester, who still hoped for an accommodation with Charles, did not desire to beat the King too much, and Cromwell, blaming Manchester for the indecisive result of the battle, carried the quarrel into the House of Commons. His partisans began to push through Parliament the famous Self-denying Ordinance under which all Members of Parliament should resign their commands. Essex, Waller, and Manchester being thus got rid of, Cromwell's services were to be retained by a special clause. It was more than a coincidence that the ousted members were all Presbyterians.

After Pym's death the direction of affairs had been taken by the "Committee of Both Kingdoms," and the Westminster Assembly, consisting of English and Scottish divines, had been discussing the future constitution of the Established Church. The divines were all Puritans, and except for the "Five Dissenting Brethren," who were Independents, were all in favour of a strictly Presbyterian settlement. They were as much opposed as Laud himself to any toleration of the wild sectaries who had returned to England or had at any rate first dared to reveal themselves on the fall of the Archbishop, but they overlooked the claims of other sectaries, such as Oliver Cromwell and his friends, who were fighting their battle and formed the only efficient part of the parliamentary forces. Early in 1645 Laud was beheaded, and naturally Charles refused to accept the Presbyterians' proposal for a settlement that placed both King and Church at their mercy. There was nothing for the Parliament to do but to agree to the Independents' proposal

that the inefficient generals should resign and the army be remodelled under Fairfax and Cromwell. The New Model Army, as it was termed, was to be small in numbers but well paid and efficiently drilled and armed after Cromwell's ideas. It soon proved its worth, and, unfortunately for the Presbyterians, the Independents, although by no means in a majority among its members, soon infected it with their spirit.

The New Model advanced to besiege Oxford, but although Charles affected to despise them he evacuated the city, and it was not until June 14, 1645, that Cromwell's forces met him at Naseby in Northamptonshire. Here the King was beaten into utter ruin, and henceforth had to see his scattered forces destroyed in detail and the castles of his adherents fall one after the other. After a year of "perpetual motion" Charles, finding himself neither able to obtain favourable terms from his enemies nor to join Montrose in Scotland, suddenly appeared in the Scottish camp at Newark, apparently in the hope that he might extract more by a personal appeal. The Scots promptly retreated with him to Newcastle, where he remained practically a prisoner. Neither the Scots nor Parliament could get him to accept their terms, and so finally the Scots handed him over to Parliament on receiving payment of their arrears. The King was placed in Holmby House in Northamptonshire, and soon became dangerously popular by his dignified bearing and helplessness. Parliament, forgetting that their triumph had only been made possible by the New Model, passed the Four Ordinances; the army was to be reduced and only receive one-sixth of its arrears of pay, and all the officers were to take the covenant, that is, swear to accept the religious settlement of the Westminster Assembly. As the ordinances also deprived all Members of Parliament of their commands, Cromwell had to throw in his lot with the army.

The army stationed near Newmarket organized itself into a sort of rival Parliament, in which "Agitators" representing the various regiments conferred with the council of officers. On June 2, 1647, Cornet Joyce kidnapped the not unwilling King from Holmby House. Charles believed that neither party could do without his assistance, and his belief was confirmed by the march of the army on London and the expulsion of the leading Presbyterian members from Parliament. The King had no intention of promising real concessions to any party able to hold him to his bargain; hence he foolishly refused the

very liberal terms offered by Cromwell and Ireton, known as "The Heads of the Proposals." He was only asked to surrender the command of the land and sea forces for ten years to Parliament and allow Parliament to appoint the holders of the great offices. There would have been no difficulty in accepting the other proposals for the reform of the judicial system, or even in compensating the four Royalist leaders excepted from the General Indemnity, and in return episcopacy was to be restored, but with complete toleration for other religious parties.

Cromwell was very favourably disposed to the King, being influenced partly by his experience of Presbyterian rule and partly by his dislike of the socialistic tendency of the Levellers, who were advocating a constitution of an advanced democratic type under the title of the "Agreement of the People." For the moment Cromwell had sternly suppressed them, but when he realized that Charles was still intriguing with Parliament he abandoned him to his fate. Probably Cromwell was glad when Charles escaped from London, even if he did not actually connive at the attempt, but unfortunately the King failed to cross over to France, and soon found himself in captivity at Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight. Here he carried on his intrigues with both Parliament and the Scots, and finally made terms, known as "The Engagement," with the latter which each knew the other party would not keep: Presbyterianism was to be established for three years, and in return a Scottish army was to invade England.

The English army was furious, and it is impossible to defend the King's action. In a few weeks Royalist insurrections broke out in several quarters, but by the end of August Fairfax had defeated the English Royalists at Maidstone and Colchester, while Cromwell recaptured Pembroke Castle. The Scots fared no better, for on August 17, 1648, Cromwell defeated part of their army at Preston and cut up the rest at Wigan and Warrington. The second Civil War was soon over. Next month, Parliament foolishly renewed negotiations with Charles, and he made the Treaty of Newport with them, accepting far more unfavourable terms than those offered by the army. However, the end was near, for the army hurried back to London, calling for vengeance on "that man of blood, Charles Stuart." Colonel Pride "purged" the House of Commons of all members likely to resist the demand. The remainder, who alone were allowed

to continue in session, were nicknamed the "Rump," and although only about sixty in number, erected a special court to try the King. Many of those nominated, including Fairfax, refused to sit in judgment on Charles, and the King himself declined to plead before what he, with some justification, called an illegal tribunal. On January 30, 1649, Charles was beheaded before his palace of Whitehall, but his execution was a blunder with far-reaching consequences.

The army had now done their worst, but had only succeeded in making the Restoration ultimately inevitable. There were now two kinds of Royalists—the older Anglican Royalists and the new Presbyterian Royalists—who together comprised at least three-fourths of the nation. The dead king's faults were all forgotten in men's contemplation of the utter illegality of his execution and the nobility of his bearing at the last. He was termed the Royal Martyr, and soon there was issued a book which, under the name of *Eikon Basilike* or the "Kingly Image," professed to portray his last thoughts and aspirations. It was useless for Milton to attempt to combat the impression thus made by publishing *Iconoclastes* or the "Image-breaker" in reply. If a free Parliament had been allowed to meet, the Prince of Wales, now safe on the Continent, would have been promptly proclaimed as Charles II probably without terms, for men had no reason to distrust him.

The Rump now proceeded to abolish the monarchy and the House of Lords and to act as the Rulers of England, which they proclaimed a Commonwealth and Free State. However, their difficulties began at once, for Scotland proclaimed the Prince as Charles II, and Ireland was all but lost. Moreover, the Thirty Years War had come to an end at the peace of Westphalia in 1648, and France was free to help the Royalists. Cromwell was sent over to Ireland in August, and by a policy of almost scientific cruelty soon reduced it to obedience. The massacre of Drogheda was intended to strike terror, but even he did not expect its repetition at Wexford. However, the situation was perilous, and he was not statesman enough to realize the real nature of the Irish problem even if he had been willing to agree that Papists had any claim for consideration of their plea that they were counted as aliens in the land of their fathers. Leaving Ireton and Ludlow to complete his work with savage effectiveness, he hurried home to take the command against the Scots which Fairfax had refused.

The situation in Scotland was dangerous. "Duke Hamilton" had been executed by the Rump for his share in the Engagement, and now his rival Argyll was undisputed master of Scotland. The Marquis of Montrose had just failed in his last Royalist raid and had been savagely put to death by Argyll. Charles II, feeling that in total submission to Argyll lay his only hope, crossed over to Scotland and took the Covenant. He was crowned at Scone, but was so closely watched that he began to follow his father's scheme of intrigues all round. The Argyll faction, backed by the ministers of the Kirk, gave Cromwell much trouble, and only their foolishness in leaving their strong position on the hills saved Cromwell from defeat at Dunbar, September 3, 1650. The army of the more moderate party, whom Charles II favoured, managed to slip past Cromwell some months afterwards and invaded England. Speedily pursued, they were headed off from London, and on September 3, 1651, Cromwell won the "crowning mercy" of Worcester. The new King escaped to France with difficulty, while Cromwell hastened to London to exact by force the toleration he had failed to obtain by entreaty.

He found that the Rump was becoming most unpopular from its corruption and general inefficiency, and joined the numerous band of its opponents who were asking it to "put a period to its existence." This the Rump was disinclined to do. Sir Harry Vane had just reorganized the navy, and he and his friends hoped to obtain glory by warfare at sea to counteract the dangerous popularity of Cromwell. The Rump passed the Navigation Ordinance one month after the battle of Worcester, which by confining trade with England to English ships or to the ships of the exporting country ruined the Dutch carrying trade, as it was intended to do. The Dutch protested, but the murder of Dr. Dorislaus, the English envoy at the Hague some time before, had made them unpopular in England, and moreover, despite the evenness of the struggle, it was popular with the London merchants, who looked upon the Dutch as dangerous rivals.

The Rump had promised to dissolve by November 3, 1653, but to the anger of its opponents it brought in what was called the Perpetuation Bill in August 1652; the new House of Commons was nominally to consist of 400 members, but the existing members were to retain their seats and also

be able to veto the election of undesirable new members. Angry remonstrances were raised, but finally the Rump decided to defy the opposition, and on April 20, 1653, Cromwell learnt that the Perpetuation Bill was being hurried through the House. He promptly brought down a file of soldiers and expelled the Rump with scornful words. So unpopular were they that "not a dog barked at their going," as he said later. However, some kind of executive there had to be, and for the present Cromwell and the officers appointed nine army men and four civilians as a Council of State.

Cromwell's position was no enviable one. A Conservative by instinct and distrustful of revolution, he was unable to restore the old constitution or even to call a free Parliament, for he realized that his own party was in a hopeless minority. And yet he could not allow the army to be disbanded, for it was the only guarantee of that toleration for the "Lord's people" on which his heart was set. The wheel had turned full circle, and now, like Strafford, he denied the right of mere numbers to decide national policy, and, like Laud, he determined to make men accept a religious system with which they had no sympathy despite its possible excellences. Some of his adherents would be content with a military dictatorship, while others, such as the fanatical Harrison, desired the introduction of the Mosaic Law and a National Sanhedrin chosen from the elders of the "Godly Party." Finally Cromwell, through the Council of State, desired the various Independent Congregations to nominate "godly persons" from among whose number he chose one hundred and thirty-nine individuals, to whom was committed the task of suggesting the most desirable course of action.

This well-meant scheme was a hopeless failure. The members voted themselves to be a Parliament, but they were called in derision the "Little Parliament," or "Barebone's Parliament" from one of their members, "Praise-God Barebone." The few members who alone were zealous were crotchety and fanatical, and unfortunately absolutely untaught and unteachable. They proceeded to abolish the Court of Chancery, Tithes, and Church Patronage, and further planned to reform the Law without, however, suggesting any constructive reforms. Soon Cromwell came to share the general alarm at their incapacity, and, acting on a hint from him, the hitherto inattentive members secretly turned up in force and voted that the

Assembly should return its commission to Cromwell (December 1653). Under happier auspices many of the suggestions the members made were carried out later, but they were asked to undertake the impossible task of reconciling the nation to a concealed military despotism.

Soon afterwards Cromwell promulgated the famous Instrument of Government—the first modern written constitution. By it Parliament was indeed restored, but forbidden to meddle with the control of the army or the partial toleration secured to all but Anglicans and Papists by the Instrument. These points were "Fundamentals," but certain other less important matters—the "Circumstantials"—were still left to Parliament. However, Cromwell, as Lord Protector, assisted by a council of twenty-one named in the Instrument, was the executive and the real government, and might suspend any permissible legislation passed by Parliament for twenty days. No means were provided for altering the constitution, and although Parliament was to meet at least once in three years the first meeting was not to be until September 3, 1654; in the meantime the Protector might legislate by ordinance, although such ordinance must be afterwards confirmed by Parliament. Cromwell took liberal advantage of his rights, and before Parliament met reformed the Court of Chancery and instituted a Board of Triers to examine nominations made by patrons to Church livings. He also examined by commission the characters of the existing clergy, and few who were not accredited Puritans were allowed to retain their livings.

Before Parliament met Cromwell made peace with Holland, which had recently suspended the Stadtholderate and was now less friendly to the Stuarts. He met his first Parliament with high hopes, although he had only just escaped assassination by Vowell and Gerard. The members, 400 in number for England, were chosen freely by Puritan electors in reformed constituencies; thirty members represented Ireland and thirty Scotland. However, Vane the republican leader at once challenged the system of government by one person, and he found support even among those who, otherwise friendly to Cromwell, denied his right to circumscribe the traditionally unrestricted powers of Parliament even if, as in the Instrument, there was no House of Lords. It was in vain that Cromwell insisted on his good intentions and argued that, by accepting their election to Parliament, members had accepted the Instrument and the

limitation of their rights. He could not trust the members and they could not trust him. By our modern theory Cromwell was wrong, but he excluded his bitterest opponents from Parliament. However, even the remainder proved so intractable that at the end of five lunar months—the earliest legal date—he dissolved Parliament (January 1655).

The Royalists were encouraged by Cromwell's troubles, and Penruddock headed a rising at Salisbury in the following March. It was soon put down, but the Protector used it as a pretext for dividing the country up into eleven military districts, each under a major-general who had a strong military force at his disposal. The Royalists had to pay a special tax to cover the expenses, and the discontent grew more and more widespread. It was useless for Cromwell to attempt to conciliate the nation by showing all possible lenience; the nation, outside his own small party, emphatically denied his claims to rule, and saw in the soldiery the outward sign of their enslavement. The Royalists in England were ever hoping for help either from Spain or France, and Cromwell in 1655 had to give the foreign problem his careful attention.

Spain was still hated though fallen from its former estate, and Cromwell had as a pretext for war the murder of an English envoy in Madrid. He decided to join France in her war with Spain, and in this showed more "carnal wisdom" than is sometimes admitted. He has been accused of helping the tiger—France—to kill the dying elephant—Spain—but probably he saw that the war would allow English sailors once more to plunder on the Spanish Main, and certainly Spain as an ally of Charles II could do far less harm than France. It is not so easy to justify his treacherous expedition to the West Indies before war was declared. Penn and Venables failed at Hispaniola—the modern St. Domingo—but captured Jamaica in May 1655, and Cromwell was glad to make a formal alliance with France against Spain the October following, when Mazarin, the French king's minister, agreed to expel Charles II from France. Naturally Spain declared war against England, and Cromwell had fallen into one of the worst mistakes of Charles I: he had made war without the consent of Parliament. Lack of money forced him also to call a fresh Parliament in September 1657.

This time there was no pretence of free election, for Cromwell merely sought a Parliament willing to co-operate with him on

his lines. He was quite as incapable as Laud or Charles of understanding an opponent's point of view. More than ninety of his opponents were forcibly excluded, and the rest of the members were placated when part of Blake's fleet, under Stayner, captured a number of Spanish treasure ships. The Protector's speeches to his Parliaments were often pathetically ingenuous, and now he agreed to withdraw the major-generals in return for a vote of supply. Success brought him the temporary support of all who desired peace and stable government, and plots against Cromwell's life, as well as the utter incapacity and incipient tyranny of Parliament, made men desire a modification of the constitution which would give the executive more authority and incidentally protect them against a charge of treason if the Stuarts returned on Cromwell's death.

Cromwell was quite willing to fall in with the plans of the little knot of lawyers and civil officials, and even before Stayner's victory Parliament had formally offered the title of king to Cromwell, and in the "Humble Petition and Advice" had proposed what was practically a revival of the old constitution. The army chiefs, however, became alarmed, and Cromwell, on May 25, 1657, had to yield to their veiled threats and accept the new constitution as Lord Protector, but not as King. It is due in simple justice to him to state that he only valued the title of king as a means of rallying the conservative elements of the nation round him. By the statute of Henry VII, subjects obeying the *de facto* king could not be punished for treason, but no such promise covered obedience to the *de facto* protector. Cromwell was willing to allow Parliament unrestricted freedom now that by the terms of the "Humble Petition and Advice" he could veto the actions of the Commons by his nominated House of Lords, and toleration, at least for all peaceable Puritans, was an integral part of the new constitution. Parliament was to control the Council of State, but on the other hand the Protector was to command the army and navy, and could name his successor.

The new constitution was a complete failure. It cost Cromwell the support of Lambert, and so weak was his party that when the new House of Lords was formed he was in a hopeless minority in the Commons, for he had to admit the former excluded members. The first meeting of the reorganized Parliament was on January 20, 1658, and on February 4 they were dissolved by Cromwell in an indignant speech, which

ended with the despairing cry, "The Lord judge between me and you." His opponents had refused to acknowledge the new House of Lords, and had proved beyond dispute that the Presbyterians were no more willing to accept Cromwell's dictation than the Anglicans were. It went for nothing that the Protector had persuaded Mazarin to free the Vaudois from persecution by the Duke "of their Alpine mountains cold," nor were men placated by the glorious victory of the Dunes or the capture of Dunkirk from Spain. A minority cannot permanently govern a nation against its will, and the use of armed force only made the oppression less tolerable.

Cromwell, however, struggled bravely on, still hoping to force men to learn wisdom. Under pretext of military necessity, he rivalled Charles I in illegalities. Men were compelled to pay taxes, and judges were dismissed if they resisted the Protector. The prisons were crowded with suspected enemies, and Cromwell's own regiment had to be "purged." His favourite daughter died, and at last even his iron constitution gave way. Had he survived his illness or the many plots against him, want of money would have forced him to a submission as abject as that of Charles I. However, death mercifully took him on his lucky day, September 3, 1658. On his death-bed he again showed himself the simple trusting Christian of those happier days before he had tried to play the despot.

The Puritan Revolution was now over in all but name. Richard Cromwell, the new protector, was a hopeless failure, and well earned the scoffing nickname of "Tumble-down Dick." However, even his greater father had failed to control the army, and when Richard called a Parliament the army forced him to dissolve it. The army's own scheme to recall the Rump also failed, and Richard abdicated on the eve of a Royalist rising in Cheshire. Lambert soon put down the Royalists, and then aspired to play the part of ruler. By October 13 he had quarrelled with the Rump and expelled it, but his incapacity was such that Monk, Cromwell's commander in Scotland, crossed the border. Once more the Rump was restored, while Lambert marched against Monk; but Fairfax came forth from his retirement, and Lambert, forsaken by everybody, had to allow Monk and Fairfax to march to London. Here they declared for a "Free Parliament," and the Rump, swamped by the return of the Presbyterian members,

could not prevent the meeting of the Convention Parliament, which invited Charles II to return. No conditions were imposed, but the Declaration of Breda, issued by the King on May 25, 1660, was significant enough; Parliament was to decide who were to be excepted from the general amnesty, and also all claims to landed property; there was to be toleration for all peaceable Christians, and payment of arrears to Monk's army.

CHAPTER IV

FROM RESTORATION TO REVOLUTION

The Restoration of the Monarchy by no means signified the failure of the Puritan Revolution; Parliament was restored as well as the King, and the only failure was that of the Independent minority to retain a predominance based solely on military force. The failure of the Puritans was hastened by their internal dissensions, and finally brought about by the death of Oliver Cromwell, without whom the army lost its cohesion and so its power. Outwardly the Anglican Church was restored to its old position, but, though persecution had soured many of its leaders, there was no longer any thought of enforcing the alternatives of conformity or exile upon the Puritans. Indeed, for a moment it even seemed possible that the Presbyterians might be won over, for Charles II was willing to support their contention that the bishops should be bound to consult with their presbyters, as had been agreed to by the Constitutional Royalists on the eve of the Civil War. However, when Charles wished to couple this concession with toleration to Roman Catholics as well as Independents, provided that they were "peaceable Christians," he ruined the chances of the Bill in the Convention Parliament.

Charles, unlike his father, realized that in the last resort the King must give way, and so, "not wishing to go on his travels again," he made no attempt to control the new Cavalier Parliament. Just before it met a party of fanatics under Venner, a cooper, raised a hopeless insurrection in London; the only result was to give Charles an excuse to retain a small bodyguard of about 5000 men, and to cause the new Parliament to refuse mercy to Nonconformists of all parties. The bishops were not responsible for the so-called Clarendon Code,

of which the first statute was the Corporation Act of 1661. This Act excluded all non-Anglicans from holding office in corporate towns, and so indirectly deprived of the franchise the Puritan notables of those numerous towns where the Members of Parliament were elected by the corporations. When the bishops and the Puritans failed to agree at the Savoy Conference of April 1661, Parliament promptly settled the question by a new Act of Uniformity in 1662—the second statute of the Clarendon Code. Now every clergyman and schoolmaster had to accept the Book of Common Prayer, or vacate his benefice by St. Bartholomew's Day. Some Presbyterians conformed, but a large number of incumbents, sometimes estimated at 2000, had to resign. Even when allowance is made for the fact that a large number of them were intruders into the places of illegally expelled Anglicans, there was sufficient injustice in the circumstances attending their own expulsion to cause ill-feeling. The expelled clergy and their followers of all creeds now became Dissenters *outside* the Established Church instead of Nonconformists *within* it, and their demand was no longer the impossible one that the National Church should be reformed to suit the minority, but rather that the peaceful minority should receive legal toleration and, if possible, equal rights.

Those Members of Parliament who had favoured the Presbyterians now championed the cause of toleration, but for Protestants alone. The King, true to his promise made at Breda, asked Parliament to give him by statute authorization to "dispense" from the Act of Uniformity in certain cases, as former kings had dispensed from similar statutes. Fearing, with good reason, that Charles really wished to help Roman Catholics, Parliament refused and passed the harsh Conventicle Act of 1664, in which seven years' transportation was the final penalty for repeated attendance at a Conventicle—that is, at other than an Anglican Service. Not only did the Anglican majority dread Romanists, but they feared even more a renewed rising of Oliver's soldiers, who had so heavily proscribed Anglican worship.

To understand the reign of Charles II it is necessary to realize that the Anglicans in Parliament were led by Hyde, now Lord Clarendon, and had no intention of surrendering the concessions made to the Long Parliament by Charles I. They were outwardly most loyal; they voted the King a large

revenue, but one which they knew was insufficient for his wants; they repealed the Triennial Act, but added that Parliaments ought to be called frequently and with not more than a three years' interval; they had already voted that neither House of Parliament could claim to command the militia nor lawfully make war on the King, but they knew that the only support Charles could hope for must come from the Anglicans whom they represented. The Royalist lawyers got over the difficulty of their position very easily; the King could do no wrong, but though he was not responsible his ministers were, and could be called to account by Parliament.

It was Clarendon's misfortune that he lived too late in history. He could not conceive the possibility of a good king not wishing to conciliate Parliament, and it was long before he realized that Charles II had no intention of being guided by any minister. Clarendon, as a keen Anglican, disliked the King's proposal to tolerate Papists and Puritans, and although his enemies called his new town house "Dunkirk House," as being built by French bribes received for favouring the sale of Dunkirk, the minister was really guiltless, and had actually gained his master's dislike by opposing the extravagance to which Parliament objected. The King needed money for his pleasures, and when he found Parliament's terms too high he turned to his cousin, Louis XIV, who was quite willing to supply it on conditions. The sale of Dunkirk to France certainly saved an expense to Charles, and later, if he was too willing to make war on the Dutch to please Louis, he could, at first at least, count on the enthusiastic support of the London merchants, who were commercial rivals of the Dutch. To Charles the Dutch were both colonial rivals and also, through their leader John de Witt, the oppressors of his nephew the Prince of Orange.

However, England, though she had challenged the Dutch by re-enacting the Navigation Act, was not prepared for war, thanks to the King's extravagance. If the English captured Dutch ships and colonies such as New Amsterdam—the later New York—the Dutch retaliated vigorously. The English Parliament cheerfully granted large sums for the war, but soon after the Duke of York's victory off Lowestoft a terrible plague appeared in England and raged with great fierceness in London. The Conventicle Act had been evaded, and the very devotion of some of the Dissenters during the plague brought matters

to a crisis. Parliament met at Oxford and offered Charles another huge grant of money in return for the Five Mile Act, which was a re-enactment of Puritan legislation, but this time it was the Dissenters who were prohibited from gathering a congregation except under impossible conditions; no dissenting minister might approach within five miles of a former cure unless he would take the oath of non-resistance and promise never to seek any alteration in the Government or the Church.

Louis XIV was compelled by treaty to pretend to help the Dutch, but his real object was to encourage the English and Dutch to mutual destruction. Thanks to Dutch dissensions, England had slightly the better of the war at sea, but the plague was followed by the Great Fire of London in 1666, and then Charles found that even his Cavalier Parliament began to make unpleasant inquiries into the Government's expenditure and insist that money granted for the war should be spent on the war only, and not on the royal favourites. When the Dutch fleet burned English ships in the Medway they caused the King to hurry on the protracted peace negotiations, and the war was quickly brought to an end by the Peace of Breda in July 1667. Clarendon had to pay the penalty for attempting to make King and Parliament work together. He was impeached, and Charles gave him an unmistakable hint to return into exile.

The Cavalier Parliament now showed definite signs of cleavage. Perhaps Charles could still count on a majority for his Court Party, but at times the more hostile Country Party proved unpleasant critics. Clarendon was followed by the so-called Cabal Ministry of *C*lifford, *A*shley, *B*uckingham, *A*rlington, and *L*auderdale, but the last-named was generally in Scotland, and Charles never consulted the rest as a recognized body of advisers. They were useful because to some extent they could manage the House of Commons, where Ashley's scheme to tolerate Protestant Dissenters only was popular with the Country Party. Charles was determined to be his own chief minister, and he used the Cabal as a screen. Ashley, who in 1672 became Earl of Shaftesbury and Lord Chancellor, was an exceedingly able man, but no match for Charles. Shaftesbury had been a republican and various other things, but he always held fast to a belief in Parliament and in toleration at least for Protestants. Charles deceived him in the hope of gaining toleration for Romanists, a policy in which

Clifford and Arlington sympathized. Buckingham was the son of Charles I's favourite, and was the Zimri of Dryden's satire—"everything by turns and nothing long." Charles found him amusing, and took a special delight in making a laughing-stock of a courtier who professed to be excessively clever.

Louis XIV was now using a local custom in Brabant, called the "law of devolution," to claim a portion of the Spanish Netherlands for his wife, although he agreed that her younger half-brother, Charles II, could succeed his father in the rest of the Spanish dominions. The Dutch under De Witt, alarmed at the prospect, persuaded the English ambassador to join Holland and Sweden in the Triple Alliance of 1668 against France. Charles had to agree, but cleverly used the Alliance to squeeze more money out of Louis XIV, who was eager for revenge on the Dutch. By the Treaty of Dover in 1670 Charles was promised money and ships in return for help against the Dutch, and also certain parts of the Dutch territory. So much Charles told Shaftesbury and Buckingham, knowing that Parliament would not object, but Clifford and Arlington were privy to a secret clause by which Charles was to receive £200,000 a year on condition of declaring himself a Catholic. Charles was quite willing to take the money, but he probably realized that Louis' real object was to set him in antagonism with his Parliament, and he carefully avoided making the momentous declaration.

Charles was indeed greatly concerned about the attitude of Parliament. One of his critics there, Sir John Coventry, had actually been attacked by hired bravoes in an effort to silence him, and the House of Commons generally proved so difficult to handle on the question of finance that Charles seized the first excuse to prorogue Parliament for twenty-one months. Louis' subsidy would do for current needs, and he got rid of his debts at the beginning of 1672 by refusing to pay the principal to the goldsmiths who were then his creditors. As they were really the bankers of the age the King's action ruined their creditors, and things became very much worse when the Duke of York, the heir apparent, formally declared himself a Roman Catholic and Charles issued on his own authority a Declaration of Indulgence in favour of Papist and Protestant Dissenters alike. As Charles about the same time failed in a treacherous attempt to seize the Dutch treasure fleet just as Louis XIV suddenly invaded Holland, March

1672, he brought himself face to face with opposition at home and war abroad.

Louis XIV met with little more success than Charles against the Dutch, for William III, the nephew of Charles, was restored to power as stadtholder by a popular rising, which finally cost the life of his rival De Witt. Before his murder, De Witt had ruined the French invasion by the heroic measure of cutting the dykes, and William, although his army was small, was able to keep Louis XIV at bay. Charles II found little difficulty in getting promise of supplies from Parliament, for, as Shaftesbury said, the Dutch were to the English merchants as dangerous rivals as Carthage was to Rome, and so must be destroyed; before he got the money, however, he had to withdraw the Declaration of Indulgence, despite a feeble attempt to bluster. Worse followed. Shaftesbury was feeling uneasy at the future, for he foresaw the danger of the French alliance. By this time he and a large number of the Country Party were convinced that toleration could safely be given to Protestant Dissenters, but when a proposal to grant such toleration came to nothing Arlington also began to desert Charles, and, desiring to oust his Roman Catholic rival Clifford from the office of treasurer, he got one of his tools in the House of Commons to propose the Test Act. On March 29, 1673, Charles finally gave way, for only by accepting the Act could he get money for the war.

By the Test Act every office-holder under the Crown had to make a declaration of his disbelief in Transubstantiation, and also to receive the Sacrament at an Anglican church. A large number of Protestant Dissenters found no difficulty in complying with these two conditions, but the Act automatically dismissed every honest Romanist from the royal service. The Duke of York as Lord High Admiral, and Clifford the Treasurer, were the most conspicuous victims. When Charles refused the latter's post to Arlington the Cabal broke up, for Charles, with his usual cleverness, had given the treasurership to Sir Thomas Osborne, the leader of the Anglican Party, which still controlled the House of Commons. Osborne, later Lord Danby, hated the French alliance, and, as Charles was not so hostile to the Dutch since his nephew had regained power, the two men could work together. The King, alarmed at his position, was content to shelter behind his minister's popularity. Prince Rupert had failed at sea against the Dutch

largely because of French treachery, and at home the marriage of the Duke of York to the Roman Catholic Mary of Modena made men fear a Romanist line of kings. To make things worse, Buckingham and Shaftesbury had learnt the secret clause of the Treaty of Dover, and had accordingly joined the Opposition openly in support of the Test Act. His formal dismissal by Charles made Shaftesbury still more hostile.

Danby was allowed to make peace with the Dutch early in 1674, and even to bring forward his scheme of marrying James II's daughter Mary to her cousin the Prince of Orange, who was now at the head of an European League against Louis in which even Spain and the Emperor took part. Fearing lest James might have a son, William would not at first agree, but rather favoured the Opposition under Shaftesbury. Neither Danby nor Shaftesbury shrank from the basest methods of corruption to obtain support in Parliament for their rival policies of no toleration and toleration for Protestant Dissenters only, and Louis bribed both Charles and Shaftesbury. Only the latter's mastery of Parliamentary tactics prevented Danby from passing his Non-Resistance Bill in 1675, which would have excluded all but Anglicans from power. Not till over a year later did Parliament meet again; Louis had bribed Charles heavily, and the latter hoped that commercial concessions from Louis would please the members. However, war with France was fiercely demanded, and Louis had again to buy its prorogation from Charles. The King now tried to make a general peace, and actually persuaded William of Orange to marry his cousin Mary, the Protestant daughter of the Duke of York, a step which made Danby believe that Charles had accepted his policy of a Dutch alliance.

However, Danby's power was nearly over; most Englishmen, in fear of France, supported Shaftesbury's scheme to tolerate Protestant Dissenters, and Charles himself hesitated between an attempt to become absolute with French help and a wild scheme of obtaining troops from Parliament on the pretext of helping the Dutch. Louis knew that Charles only supported him for selfish reasons, and so he made peace with the Dutch at Nimuegen on August 10, 1678. He had bribed Shaftesbury as well as Charles, and now he disclosed the secret treaty just made between Charles and himself.

For the moment everything played into Shaftesbury's hands. During August Titus Oates, a man of many religions and no

scruples, professed to have discovered a great Popish plot to murder Charles and replace him by the Duke of York, who was to be helped by Jesuits and a French army. Oates soon found rivals, but the stories were so inherently absurd that, had not Shaftesbury taken up the task of spreading vague rumours, no harm would have been done. However, when Parliament met both the Papists and Danby were fiercely attacked. Although Danby had opposed the French alliance, he had been compelled by Charles to write a letter demanding money from Louis XIV, and when the English ambassador in Paris, who was an enemy of the minister, informed the Commons that the money was to be used to make Charles independent of Parliament Danby was impeached. To save Danby, and incidentally to prevent damaging disclosures of his own perfidy, Charles dissolved the Cavalier Parliament early in 1679. It had served him more faithfully than he deserved, but it had no intention of sacrificing English liberty to its loyalty. Charles was too wily to dispense with Parliament at such a time, but when the first of the three short Parliaments met in March 1679 Shaftesbury was supported by nearly all the members of the House of Commons. It was of no avail for Charles to plead that he was eager to help the Dutch, for the impeachment of Danby was renewed. When Danby produced the royal pardon the House of Lords declared that it was of no avail until he had been formally condemned. In the end the Commons agreed to drop the impeachment if Charles would send Danby to the Tower in disgrace; henceforth it would be useless for a king to keep a minister in whom the Commons had ceased to have confidence, although the inner meaning of the victory—the establishment of responsible government—was not at first fully realized.

In his new-found humility Charles accepted the scheme of Sir William Temple, according to which he was always to be guided by a new Privy Council of thirty members, of which he might appoint only half. He even accepted Shaftesbury as president of this council, and in a short time that minister had obtained complete control of the small committee that came to exercise the council's authority in practice. Charles had already sent James abroad, but when Shaftesbury proposed to exclude him formally from the succession Charles resisted. He would grant everything asked, even to the extent of depriving the future Roman Catholic king of all but the bare

title. However the Commons, honestly believing that no oath or law could bind a Papist, insisted on the second reading of Shaftesbury's Exclusion Bill. As Charles accepted the important Habeas Corpus Act of 1679—the third great constitutional document—which guaranteed accused persons an immediate trial, he felt strong enough to dissolve the Parliament.

The new elections were even more disastrous to Charles, thanks to the unscrupulous use Shaftesbury made of the Popish Plot. Charles now bestirred himself, and determined to ruin Shaftesbury by pointing out to the nation that the only alternative to a Popish king was a fresh civil war. It is to be regretted that Charles did not use his undoubted ability for nobler ends. Probably he was more eager to ruin Shaftesbury than to help the Duke of York, and the minister played into his hands. Hitherto it had been understood that Mary, the wife of the Prince of Orange, would succeed to her father's rights, but now Shaftesbury, desiring a pliant tool, proposed that on the death of Charles the throne should go to the Duke of Monmouth, eldest natural son of the King. Under Shaftesbury's guidance Monmouth soon won great popularity as the "young Protestant hero," especially in the south-west. At once opposition to his claims arose, especially from George Savile, created Earl of Halifax in 1679. Halifax had been one of Danby's bitterest critics, and he was no Royalist even in 1679, but, true to his policy of "Trimming the Ship of State" against the excesses of either extreme, he championed the cause of Mary and Anne, daughters of James. The latter might not live long, even if he actually outlived Charles, and if his daughter Mary was excluded in favour of Monmouth her husband would certainly press her claim by war.

Charles wisely allowed his cautious ally to fight his battle on the prorogation of Parliament, and soon news from Scotland caused many waverers to support him. Lauderdale, himself an ex-Presbyterian, had governed Scotland with a high hand and had suppressed resistance both in Parliament and in Church matters. Episcopacy, restored in 1660, had been bitterly opposed by the extreme Presbyterian peasantry of the Western Lowlands—called the Covenanters from their zeal for the National Covenant. Maddened by their sufferings at the hand of the "Highland Host" quartered on them by Lauderdale, they resisted by force the suppression of their

open-air conventicles, and even murdered Archbishop Sharp of St. Andrews as a persecuting renegade. By a curious irony of fortune, when the Covenanters took up arms in favour of the restoration of Presbyterianism and the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne, Monmouth himself commanded the troops that crushed them at Bothwell Brig, although he left the task of punishing the rebels to the new Lord High Commissioner, the Duke of York.

The actual rebellion in Scotland having been crushed, Charles was encouraged to dismiss Shaftesbury and his friends from the Privy Council, and, as though seeking to provoke his enemy to rash conduct, Charles refused to summon Parliament despite numerous petitions got up by Shaftesbury. These petitions were answered by other petitions "abhorring" this attempt to force the King, and soon the petitioners and abhorrers presented each other with more opprobrious nicknames. The petitioners were called Whigs, from their championship of the Covenanters, to whom the name, of doubtful meaning, was applied in scorn, while they in turn nicknamed their opponents Tories—the Popish brigands of Ireland. Charles was quite satisfied when the Duke of York was well received in London, and he allowed the second Short Parliament to meet in October 1680. Of course Shaftesbury carried the Exclusion Bill through the Commons, but Halifax persuaded the Lords to reject it, and when men began openly to express their disbelief in the Popish Plot Charles dissolved Parliament, January 1681. He had decided upon forcing the issue by the help of popular sympathy.

This time Charles summoned the third Short Parliament to meet at Oxford, where the London mob could not help Shaftesbury, and he also rather ostentatiously brought the Royal Guards with him. The Whig members suspected mischief, but rather foolishly attended at Oxford accompanied by their own armed servants. Having put the Whigs in the wrong, Charles assumed an attitude of studied moderation. He offered Shaftesbury everything but the succession of Monmouth, knowing that he could accept nothing less with safety, and then suddenly dissolved Parliament as unreasonable. The nation outside saw that Shaftesbury had armed his followers and would accept no compromise. Everywhere the Tory reaction was felt, and Tory sheriffs easily procured the condemnation of Whigs on the flimsiest evidence before the Tory

juries whom they had empanelled. At last only London provided an asylum for the Whigs, as the sheriffs for London and Middlesex were elected by the Londoners.

Charles could not feel safe till Shaftesbury was dead or in exile. Poets and pamphleteers, such as Dryden, were engaged to turn popular opinion against him, and Dryden's satire *Absalom and Achitophel* was most effective. Monmouth was Absalom, and Shaftesbury his tempter Achitophel, "the daring pilot in extremity . . . who had steered too near the sands to shew his wit." Charles won over the Whig lord mayor, and soon there were two Tory sheriffs and a Tory lord mayor. Just in time, Shaftesbury escaped to Holland, where he died soon afterwards, broken in health and fortune. To his friends Charles showed no mercy, but he acted cautiously as usual. The city of London first lost its ancient charters by a writ of *quo warranto* before the King's Bench, and when it refused to allow Charles a veto on the appointment of its officials as the price of restoration, the King calmly exercised his legal rights in a case of forfeiture and appointed the Lord Mayor and other officials directly. Soon most corporate towns suffered the fate of London; in each case the remodelled charters provided for a Tory mayor and corporation, and so ensured that the next Parliament, whenever Charles had to call one, would have a Tory majority, as in many cases only the governing bodies of the towns elected the Members of Parliament.

The statutes of the Clarendon Code were once more rigorously carried out, and naturally the wilder spirits among Shaftesbury's "brisk boys" were eager for revenge. Some of them formed the Rye House Plot to seize or kill the King and the Duke of York on their return from Newmarket. The plot failed, but Charles cleverly confused it with a quite different design, which he found was being discussed among the Whig leaders such as Russell, Essex, Lord Howard of Escrick, and his own son Monmouth. Professedly, the plotters desired nothing more than to make Charles call a Parliament, but Howard of Escrick turned informer, and Essex committed suicide. Charles allowed Monmouth to go into exile, but Russell had been an ardent champion of the Exclusion Bill, and his friend Algernon Sidney was a theoretical republican. These two were executed for treason, and now the Whig Party was ruined. Too late, Halifax saw that he had been duped,

for Charles refused to risk even a Tory Parliament again. In this attitude he was backed by the High Tory leader the Earl of Rochester, and so long as Louis XIV would provide money Charles allowed matters to drift.

On February 2, 1685, in the midst of a disgraceful orgie at Whitehall, the King was struck down by apoplexy. He lingered long enough to deceive the High Tory Anglicans as completely as he had deceived Halifax and Shaftesbury, and was received into the Roman Catholic Church just before his death by the priest who had saved his life after the battle of Worcester. Few men have abused natural gifts more than Charles II. Excuses have been sought in his defective education and his stormy youth; he disbelieved in honesty and virtue because he found either so rarely. He certainly favoured the expansion of commerce and the empire, and he was not naturally cruel or intolerant, although absolutely heartless and selfish. He actively assisted the progress of science by his patronage of the Royal Society, and he delighted in the conversation of men of learning. Actually, he harmed the monarchy even more than his father, for to beat Shaftesbury he called in the nation as arbitrator between King and Parliament, and so tacitly abdicated sovereignty. Against his will he invented Responsible Government, for he forced successive ministers to resign as they fell into disfavour with Parliament, and although he preserved his brother's right of succession he could not hand on that political suppleness which alone could have staved off revolution.

The new king, James II, was compelled to call a Parliament, as about three-fifths of the royal revenue lapsed on the death of Charles, although Louis agreed to continue the pension if necessary. Charles II had defeated Shaftesbury by becoming the leader of the Tories, and a Tory Parliament was assured now that the corporations had been remodelled. However, James could only exercise his brother's authority so long as he accepted the same tacit alliance with the Anglican Church against Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics, especially as with the majority of the nation he had been accepted merely as the alternative to civil war and in the hope that his reign would be short. The High Church Anglicans were prepared to believe the best of the King, for he had promised at his first council meeting to protect the Church; they passed over the open celebration of Mass and the collection of taxes before

they were granted, and probably many of them quite sympathized with the punishment of Oates and the imprisonment of Baxter. However, they understood James as little as he realized the peculiarly limited interpretation they now put on the Divine Right of Kings—that it was to be used solely to protect the Divine Right of the Church.

Honest but narrow-minded, obstinate without the gift of appreciating difficulties in the way of his designs, the King formed from the first the mad idea that the Anglicans' theories of passive obedience would prevent them from opposing his designs actively, even if they could not formally support them. When they granted him all his brother's revenue almost unanimously James expected no further trouble, for in Scotland Argyll's rebellion was frowned upon by all but the extreme Covenanters, and Monmouth was no more successful in the west of England. Parliament willingly passed a Bill of Attainder against "King Monmouth," and although men pitied the victims of his rashness as they suffered under the cruelty of Jeffries during the "Bloody Assizes," they had steadily supported James throughout the crisis. Now the King, returning to London in triumph, threw off all disguise. The army was increased and officered largely with Papists, and the King formally demanded that Parliament should repeal the Test Act. Halifax, for his remonstrance, was dismissed, but it was folly for James even to ask for the repeal of the Recusancy Laws when Englishmen learned that Louis XIV had just revoked the Edict of Nantes, which alone guaranteed toleration to the French Protestants; the Test Act was the sole barrier to the replacement of all Protestant officers, civil or military, by Roman Catholics.

Even a Tory Parliament could not allow James to inform them that he intended to persist in his disregard of the Test Act, for it had come to be the belief of all members that the King could not oppose Parliament. James in anger prorogued Parliament, and, like his father, appealed to the judges to uphold his claims. In a collusive action Sir Edward Hales, one of the newly converted Romanist officers, was accused by his coachman Godden of a breach of the Test Act. When Hales produced the royal dispensation the judges declared that it was valid, and that Hales might retain his commission. Although to obtain the verdict James had to dismiss four hostile judges, there were Tudor precedents for a modified

dispensing power, but no precedents could cover the use James made of his victory. Anglican clergymen who became Papists were allowed to retain their livings, and at Oxford Obadiah Walker, Master of University College, and the new Dean of Christ Church were not compelled to resign their posts although avowed Papists.

To suppress sermons against Popery James re-established a version of the old Court of High Commission with power to try clergy only, hoping thus to keep within the limits of the law. He then caused Jeffries, the head of the new court, to suspend Bishop Compton of London because he in turn refused to suppress an anti-Papal preacher, and he not only offended the High Anglicans by dismissing their leader Rochester purely on religious grounds, but he also alarmed all non-Romanists by replacing Rochester's brother Clarendon as Deputy of Ireland by the Papist Tyrconnell, whose private character was not of the best. Tyrconnell's appointment conciliated the natives of Ireland, but the King's demands in Scotland were too much even for the hitherto subservient Episcopalian Parliament, and soon James had few supporters there.

James had now broken with the Anglicans, for they refused to accept his proposal that they should be allowed to persecute Protestant Dissenters in return for tolerating Papists. Realizing his failure, the King turned to the Dissenters, and on April 4, 1687, issued the First Declaration of Indulgence suspending all penal laws and establishing perfect freedom of worship. Legally, James could not justify his action, and actually it did not conciliate more than a minority of Protestant Dissenters. The others, although grateful for the relief, listened to the warning words of Halifax's clever *Letter to a Dissenter*, and saw that the declaration was really intended to help Papists and could be withdrawn by the same irresponsible authority as issued it when the royal claim to override Parliament had been once established. Halifax, on behalf of the Anglicans, offered legal toleration guaranteed by Parliament, and once more James had miscalculated.

A wiser man than James would have acknowledged defeat, but the King proceeded to fresh illegalities. The Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, were ordered to choose as their president first a man of infamous character but a Papist, and then, on their refusal to displace their own nominee, Hough,

by Parker, the secretly Romanist Bishop of Oxford, the King installed Parker by force and expelled the Fellows. They were thus made heroes in the eyes of their friends and former pupils, and James saw that only a packed Parliament would condone his many breaches of the law. Jeffries was given the task of once more remodelling the corporations; this time Anglicans were to be replaced by Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics. However, though James did dissolve his first Tory Parliament he found that public opinion was proving too strong for his nominees, and he drew back from the risk of defeat. Instead of calling a Parliament, he decided to make the Tory clergy obey him or stultify their lifelong professions. They were ordered to read publicly in church a new version of the Declaration of Indulgence, April 22, 1688. Objections were raised on every side, and, to the King's indescribable anger, Sancroft, the High Tory Primate, and six of his brother bishops claimed to exercise their right as members of the House of Lords, and presented to the King a petition firm but respectful, asking him not to press his demand.

The crisis had now come, for the King blustered and called the petition a "standard of rebellion." James might threaten the bishops with legal proceedings, but they had the nation behind them and few clergy obeyed him. On the 29th of June the bishops appeared in Westminster Hall to answer a formal charge of publishing a seditious libel. The case against them was so weak that even the royal judges heard the charges with impatience, and the jury on the second day returned an unanimous verdict of acquittal. Even the soldiers on Hounslow Heath cheered the verdict, and James could find support nowhere else; nor could he hope for a fresh chance from the Anglicans, for on the 10th of June the long-hoped-for son had been born to render certain a succession of Roman Catholic sovereigns, to the exclusion of the Princess Mary and to make their long patience vain. Furious at the treatment of their bishops, the Anglicans accepted the Whig story—baseless though it was—that this child was a changeling introduced into the royal palace in a warming-pan. Forgetting the last fragment of the doctrine of non-resistance, the Tory Danby, on the night of the bishops' acquittal, signed a letter jointly with the Whig leaders inviting William of Orange to bring over an army to save the national liberties.

Undoubtedly the birth of a son to James decided Danby's

action. Apparently James had intended merely to disgrace the bishops by a formal condemnation, and then to pardon them in thankfulness for the birth of his son. He thought, not without reason, that William of Orange would not dare to provoke Louis by interference in England, but in view of the Prince's attitude he made all possible concessions to his subjects. It was too late, for although William would not have taken the risk merely for the sake of English liberties, he needed England's help in the approaching war against Louis XIV. Whether from national pride or blind folly, James disregarded Louis' warnings and refused his proffered help. In disgust, Louis invaded Germany instead of Holland and so set William free to sail to England. The expedition all but miscarried owing to unfavourable winds, but when William finally landed at Brixham, in Devon, on the 5th of November, the gentry flocked to his standard or joined the various Whig or Tory lords of their neighbourhood. James had set out bravely enough to meet William, but his officers steadily went over to the invader. When Marlborough, on whom James had showered favours, persuaded the Princess Anne to abandon her father, the King, in alarm, offered to allow a free Parliament to meet in London if William would stay his march.

Actually James was bent on flight as soon as his wife and child had reached France in safety, but, much to William's annoyance, the King was arrested at Sheerness when endeavouring to cross the Channel and brought back to London. Finally, after a short delay, James was again frightened into a fresh attempt to reach France, and this time William took care it should be successful, lest there should be a second royal martyr. Louis received him kindly, but the palace and pension were to be paid for in the French king's mind by the re-establishment of James as a French puppet in England and the consequent ruin of the Dutch.

On the advice of the House of Lords and an assembly containing the members of the various Parliaments of Charles II and special representatives of London, William, as though he were king, summoned a Parliament for January 22, 1689. Actually the Assembly was, in the eye of the law, only a Convention, but it acted with all possible boldness. The Tories controlled the House of Lords, while the Whigs had a majority in the Commons, but neither party would agree to recall James to power, although the Tories in the House of

Lords desired that William's title should merely be that of Regent for James. However, in the House of Commons both Tories and Whigs accepted a cumbrous resolution which stated that the King, "having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between King and people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and that the throne had thereby become vacant."

The "original contract between king and people" was a mere figment of political philosophers before 1689, but it expressed truly the relation between subsequent rulers of England and their people. Whether, as the Whigs said, James had lost his throne by misgovernment, or whether, as some Tories said, flight was equivalent to abdication, mattered little. Danby made a feeble attempt to maintain that Mary was queen in her own right, but as the Princess took her husband's side William carried his point, and the Lords agreed that the throne was vacant. Before it was formally offered to William and Mary as joint sovereigns, Parliament drew up the Declaration of Right—the fourth great constitutional document of our history; every point in dispute between the Stuarts and their Parliaments was decided against the King, but the conservative character of the Revolution of 1688 is shown even in the clause dealing with the dispensing power; it was only declared to be "illegal as of late exercised." Indeed, when the Declaration was presented for William's royal assent as the Bill of Rights, it became a formal contract of sovereignty; William was to have all the royal prerogatives on condition that he exercised them in accordance with the wishes of Parliament.

The Declaration of Right was a commentary on the reigns of the Stuarts. Henceforth William as King of England had no more actual power than he had as Stadtholder of the United Provinces. The "crowned republic" was established in England, but William accepted the position of perpetual royal president not because he had any special desire to protect the Whig version of England's liberties, but because he needed England's aid to protect his beloved Holland from Louis XIV. It was England's good fortune that his interest coincided with her own.

SECTION III. HOW THE PARLIAMENTARY MONARCHY GOVERNED ENGLAND, 1689–1832

CHAPTER I

THE EVOLUTION OF THE CABINET AND PRIME MINISTER. PART I

WILLIAM III was an ideal king for the England of his day. He was sufficiently able to safeguard England from the return of James, yet not successful enough as a soldier to threaten the new position of Parliament. His devotion to Holland made him willing to buy England's help by submitting to repeated humiliations, and suspicious by nature himself he was not surprised when the men who had invited him to England kept up a correspondence with James.

William had no particular love for either of the English parties, for he realized that the Whigs would limit his authority from their very political ideas, while the Tories, already half-repenting of their temerity, would never support him as a king reigning by Divine Right. At first he chose a Council in which both parties were represented, perhaps not without the hope that he might gain power by playing off Whigs against Tories. However, the House of Commons became more and more Whig in sympathy as the war continued, and by 1695 William's capture of Namur gave him a strongly Whig House of Commons. Already in 1693 Sunderland, the old minister of James II, had suggested that he should choose his advisers from the party having the majority in the House of Commons—at this time the Whigs—and by 1695 Godolphin alone remained of the Tories, for Danby, now Duke of Leeds, had retired under a charge of bribery in connection with the new East India Company's charter. By 1697 Godolphin had also gone, and William's chief councillors

were the able Whig Junto of Montague, Russell, Somers, and Wharton; and then came the Peace of Ryswick and a Tory House of Commons. However, the king still retained his Whig Ministers.

William had not intentionally introduced Cabinet Government; he accepted Sunderland's advice merely because the Whigs agreed with his war policy, and throughout the reign he was his own foreign minister and, whenever possible, presided at the meetings of his council. From the moment of his accession he had struggled to retain at least a few fragments of the royal power, but with small success. Despite the threats of Louis XIV and James II, Parliament had passed the Mutiny Act sanctioning a small army for six months only in 1689—though afterwards it was made annual—and before long the royal civil list had become annual also. In fear lest William, like Charles II and James II, might find funds elsewhere, a Bill was brought in under which no Parliament might be retained more than three years, nor could the King dispense with Parliament for more than three years. William strained his power by vetoing this Triennial Bill, but had to accept it in 1694, although he was more successful in resisting the Place Bill of that year, by which any Member of Parliament receiving an office from the King must vacate his seat. Had this Bill been carried it would obviously have made the development of Cabinet Government impossible, as it would have prevented the two Houses from exercising direct control over the royal ministers. Under Queen Anne in 1708 the Act was passed, with the important addition that members of the House of Commons who had resigned on receiving an appointment might seek re-election. The Revolution was fatal to the royal veto, which was last exercised by Anne in the case of a Scottish Militia Bill.

It was William's misfortune that the solution of the religious problem, for which he was not solely responsible, offended the Tories, who were often extreme Anglicans, or High Church as the term then was. The Tories had accepted William, but the Convention Parliament imposed a new oath of allegiance and supremacy on all office-holders both in Church and State which demanded a formal abjuration of allegiance to King James II. With Archbishop Sancroft at their head, six bishops and several hundreds of clergy—former opponents of James II—were unable formally to abjure an allegiance once sworn,

although willing to accept the new king. The Whig majority ruthlessly expelled them from their posts, and caused them against their will to form the schism of the Non-Jurors, which lingered on until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Sancroft and the clergy and laity who followed him were men whose motives were appreciated by many of the conformists, and when Convocation, representing the Church, refused to accept William's scheme for "comprehending" Church and Protestant Dissenters in one religious organization the House of Commons threw out the Comprehension Bill; instead, they passed the Toleration Act in 1689, which did not wholly please the Dissenters, for it only freed the Protestants, except the Unitarians, from the legal consequences of schism without repealing the Test Act, while the Romanists had to be content with an unofficial connivance at their worship secured by William's need of the friendship of the Pope and the Emperor, both of whom opposed Louis XIV.

The passing of the Toleration Act had been rendered possible by the attitude of the Protestant Dissenters to James II. The Anglicans no longer feared their active hostility, and many Englishmen began to adopt the opinions set forth in Locke's *Letters on Toleration*, which were a philosophical defence of the view that, as a Church was a voluntary body of men organized for the worship of God, the State had no right to interfere with such organizations. Milton had pleaded earlier, in *Areopagitica*, for a recognition of the bracing effect of liberty on men, and by 1695 he too had obtained a hearing, for the House of Commons refused to renew the Licensing Act and so set men free to print and speak what they would, subject only to the law of libel.

However, although the English Parliament straitly circumscribed William's power in England, they willingly supported him against the common enemy, James II. William's interference had involved England in the war of the League of Augsburg, which had now become also the War of the English Succession. William was, from the European point of view, leading the continental states against the aggression of Louis XIV, and, in the eyes of the French king, James II and the Jacobites were but pawns in the game. At first, indeed, they seemed likely to be useful pawns, for, although the Presbyterian Convention that met at Edinburgh found William ready to buy the crown from them by accepting the Claim of

Right and a Presbyterian settlement, the violent "rabbling" or ejectment of the episcopalian clergy by riotous mobs alarmed the nobles and upper classes. However, the only dangerous opponent was John Graham of Claverhouse, whom James II had made Viscount Dundee for his services against the Covenanters. Dundee could expect no mercy, and so, while the Duke of Gordon was content to surrender Edinburgh Castle after a brave but hopeless defence, he followed the example of his clansman Montrose, and raised the Highlanders for the royal cause.

Fortune, however, favoured William, for although Dundee's Highlanders swooped down upon the forces of his general, Mackay, at Killiecrankie before they could fix their clumsy newfangled bayonets, and drove them in utter rout down the pass, Dundee himself was killed in the moment of victory and the rebellion collapsed. The Highlanders returned home with their plunder, and the Master of Stair, who with Argyll practically ruled Scotland in William's name, distributed money among the chiefs, whose poverty made them agree to take an oath acknowledging William by December 31, 1691. Unfortunately one of the lesser chiefs of the Macdonalds, Mac Ian of Glencoe, had incurred the enmity of his powerful neighbours the Campbells, and when by accident he took the oath too late—pride having led him to postpone his submission as long as possible—the Master of Stair persuaded William to give written authority for the "extirpation of that set of thieves." Although the pretext was the necessity of teaching rebels a lesson, the party of Campbells to whom the massacre was entrusted accepted hospitality as friendly guests for a time. A treacherous night attack on the tribe largely miscarried, but many of those who escaped died of cold and hunger in the mountains. When the news reached Edinburgh even the Scottish Parliament protested. William dismissed the Master of Stair in disgust, and for the first time in history the Lowlanders were led to look with compassion upon the sufferings of their Highland neighbours whom hitherto they had hated as savage plunderers.

William's task in Ireland was far more difficult. Tyrconnell, James II's deputy, had even before that king's flight established a Roman Catholic ascendancy complete enough to cause James some anxiety for his own authority in Ireland, but the unfortunate king was glad to accept money and officers from

Louis XIV when invited to cross over to Ireland. In Dublin he called a Parliament, whose Celtic members insisted on passing a sweeping Act of Attainder against William's Irish supporters as part of a scheme to restore to the natives all land confiscated by the English since 1641. Meanwhile the Irish Protestants had taken refuge in Enniskillen and Londonderry. Against the latter, which he expected would be betrayed to him by its commander Lundy, James led an ill-equipped and ill-disciplined army for whose support he had to have recourse to base money. When the "'Prentice Boys" closed the gates in his face James had to undertake a hopeless siege, for the inhabitants preferred the extremes of starvation to surrender. At last, on July 30, 1689, three relieving ships sent by William broke the boom that James had placed across the harbour mouth, and the Irish army sullenly fell back. Three days afterwards the Enniskilleners attacked their besiegers at Newtown Butler, and that siege also was abandoned.

When William sent over an English force in August under Marshal Schomberg, a Huguenot refugee, the position of James became serious, but disease broke out among the English army and gave him a respite. In June 1690 William himself led a fresh expedition, and on the 1st of July James was defeated in an attempt to dispute the passage of the Boyne and fled to France. Nowhere in Ireland did his followers make any resistance until William, early in August, had cooped up the remains of the Irish army in Limerick. Sarsfield, their commander, cleverly forced William to retreat by destroying his siege train, but although he had several months' respite, Sarsfield had neither sufficient money nor disciplined troops to resist for long. Between June 30 and July 12, 1691, William's general, the Dutchman Ginkel, forced the passage of the Shannon at Athlone, and ruined the Irish army at Aughrim in Connaught. Sarsfield held out gallantly in Limerick till October 3, but no help could be sent. Ginkel was glad to offer a free passage to Sarsfield and such of his men who wished to go to France, and he promised that the Irish Roman Catholics should enjoy the religious privileges they had been granted under Charles II. However, the Irish Parliament, now Protestant, set aside the second part of the capitulation, and Limerick became known to the Irish as the "City of the Violated Treaty." Naturally the oppression of the native population still further embittered the Irish question, and for many

years afterwards the "Wild Geese," as the exiles were called, found a ready response when they made secret visits to organize risings. The troops of Sarsfield won undying fame as the Irish Brigade in the service of France, and in after years their descendants looked upon the English defeat at Fontenoy in 1745 as a fitting revenge for the disaster at Limerick.

Fortune favoured William in Scotland and Ireland, but elsewhere he had a hard struggle. England itself remained quiet, for although in 1690 Torrington, the English admiral, by cowardice or incompetency allowed Tourville, the best admiral of Louis XIV, to defeat a combined English and Dutch fleet off Beachy Head, the useless burning of Teignmouth was the only result. Tourville's action decided many waverers to refuse help to James so long as he relied on Louis XIV, and in 1692 Russell, who was half a Jacobite, destroyed the French fleet off Cape La Hogue just as James was going to embark with a French army of invasion. England was safe, but in the Spanish Netherlands William made no headway against Luxemburg, the French leader. At Steinkirk in 1692 and at Landen in 1693 William was beaten, but he rallied his men most skilfully and grimly resisted all attacks.

William's defeats really helped him to retain his throne, for Montague, his Whig Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had won the favour of the mercantile classes, played upon their fear of a French triumph and persuaded them to lend large sums of money to the Government for the war. As the security was to be that of the nation rather than that of the King, the loan was called the National Debt, 1693. Next year the lenders were given a charter as the Bank of England with special privileges, and when, thanks largely to the money they advanced, William in 1695 actually captured Namur, the gateway into France along the valley of the Meuse, he obtained a Whig Parliament pledged enthusiastically to support the war. The issue of a new and better coinage cemented the alliance between William and the mercantile classes, and as the latter realized that William's ultimate triumph was the only security for the repayment of the sums already advanced, Parliament promised William all the money he might require.

William had gained the Whigs, but the Tories were still sullen. Some of the leading men continued to correspond with James II, and not unnaturally William showed marked favour to the more faithful Dutch, till even the Whig House

of Commons protested. Moreover, the leading supporters of William were charged with gross corruption—not unjustly. In 1696 a plot was formed for the invasion of England by the Duke of Berwick, natural son of James II, and some of the extremists even planned William's murder. Then the nation began to realize William's value, and at last, in 1697, just as the ministry became wholly Whig, Louis XIV gave up the struggle. By the peace of Ryswick, France surrendered all conquests made since the Treaty of Nimeguen in 1678, and acknowledged William as King of England and Anne as his successor. The last gold coin had won, but the holder had not been Louis XIV as he expected.

However, William's triumph was short lived. Many of the Whigs feared that the King might use the standing army against the national liberties, and, joining the Tories, drastically reduced the army to 7000 men and sent home the Dutch Guards despite William's protest. They even forced him to deprive the Dutch favourites of the land with which he had rewarded their faithful services, and with a refinement of meanness reversed his policy of toleration by passing an Act of such savagery against the Roman Catholics that it speedily became obsolete. William strove to keep his Whig Ministers, as he did not recognize Parliament's right to dismiss them, but one by one the Ministers insisted on resigning lest they should be formally impeached, until only Somers, the Lord Chancellor, was left. The Commons were no more pleased when William reverted to his original plan of a composite ministry. In 1700 the crisis came. The House of Commons, with a Tory majority, proposed to annul all William's grants of land in Ireland, but their own proposals were so unjust that the House of Lords objected. By "tacking" the land clauses to a Finance Bill which the Lords could not amend and were unwilling to reject the Commons got their way. Somers only escaped formal impeachment by resigning, and William, by choosing all his ministers from the Tory Party, accepted as established the principle that the King can only retain ministers as long as they retain the confidence of the House of Commons.

William had endured the slights of Parliament merely from devotion to Holland, whose existence was threatened by new schemes of Louis XIV. The Spanish king, Charles II, was dying, and his inheritance was disputed between Louis XIV and the Emperor, each of whom was at once his cousin and

his brother-in-law. However, both Louis' mother, Anne of Austria, and his wife, Maria Theresa, had solemnly renounced their claims on marriage in return for a dowry, and there had been a similar but apparently less formal renunciation on the marriage of the younger sister, Margaret Theresa, to the Emperor Leopold. Louis now maintained with some show of fairness that as Maria Theresa's dowry had not been paid her renunciation was invalid. Leopold in turn suggested that the whole inheritance ought to come to himself as son of Maria, who was, like Anne of Austria, aunt to Charles II, but had not renounced her rights. Leopold had only one child by Margaret Theresa, and when she married the Elector of Bavaria he had forced her to renounce her rights. Her son, the Electoral Prince Joseph, being thus ruled out, Leopold proposed to pass on his own claim to Charles, his second son by a later wife. Louis XIV in turn was quite willing to stand aside in favour of his son the Dauphin.

William III dreaded equally the success of Louis or Leopold. Louis had considered the Treaty of Ryswick as little more than a truce to enable him to prepare for the struggle over the Spanish inheritance, but he was quite willing to make with William the secret First Partition Treaty in 1698. Some thirty years before he had made a private agreement with Leopold to share the dominions of Charles II on his then expected death, but now he and William agreed that Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands should go, despite the renunciations, to Leopold's grandson, the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, whom nobody feared; the Dauphin and the Archduke Charles were to divide the remainder of the Spanish Empire—the Italian lands and the Biscayan province of Guipuscoa. Then began William's misfortunes. The English Parliament and he quarrelled, and just when the dismissal of most of his army had left William helpless the Electoral Prince died, 1700.

At first Louis did not seem eager to take advantage of William's unpopularity and weakness, for he actually agreed to the Second Partition Treaty by which the Archduke Charles obtained the Spanish crown and all the Spanish dominions except Guipuscoa and the Italian lands; Louis even promised to exchange Milan for Lorraine, whose duke would be a useful Austrian ally in his new territory. It is doubtful, to say the least, whether Louis was in earnest in the new scheme, and certainly Leopold's refusal to sanction a French Italy somewhat

explains his conduct in allowing the French ambassador at Madrid to intrigue in the Dauphin's favour. Moreover, Louis was well informed as to William's difficulties at home. In July 1700 the Duke of Gloucester, Anne's last child, died, and to provide for the exclusion of the Pretender fresh legislation would be necessary. In November of the same year Charles II of Spain at last died, and it was found that he had left all the Spanish dominions by will to the Dauphin's second son Philip. The Spaniards had naturally no wish to see their empire divided, and the French ambassador found support in his claim that the accession of Philip would be the best solution, since France and Spain together would be able to uphold the will.

When Louis XIV accepted the inheritance for Philip, William was furious, but not only did Parliament refuse to support him, but they even forced a Tory ministry upon him. The new Parliament of February 1701 was strongly Tory, but it was even more strongly Anglican. It opposed the war with France, which was desired by the commercial classes and great landowners who formed the Whig party, but the Tory country gentlemen and clergy were quite as determined as the Whigs not to risk a Popish king. Parliament at once passed the Act of Settlement, or Succession, which disinherited the Pretender as a Papist, and settled the crown, after Anne's death, on Sophia, wife of the Elector of Hanover and daughter of Elizabeth "Queen of Bohemia," the sister of Charles I; in short, the most "suitable" member of the Royal Family was chosen, as all nearer claimants were ineligible as Roman Catholics. The Act not only deliberately broke the line of hereditary succession, but also laid many jealous restrictions on the new Hanoverian sovereigns and their ministers. Perhaps the most satisfactory clause was that which decided that in future judges should be appointed to hold office "during good behaviour"; they might not be dismissed by the King except on an address from both Houses of Parliament, and thus men regained confidence in their decisions.

The Tory Parliament condemned both the Partition Treaties on the ground that France and Spain would in any case hold each other in check even if Louis's grandson did get Spain, whereas the treaties actually proposed an increase of French territory. However, the Whig merchants saw with dismay that Louis proposed to give their French rivals superior facilities

for trade with the Spanish colonies, and even the Tory Parliament agreed that William ought to have an English army to help the Dutch when Louis treacherously expelled the Dutch half of the garrisons from the "Barrier Fortresses" in the Spanish Netherlands. Nevertheless, the House of Commons imprisoned the Kentish Petitioners who begged them to support the King's policy; it was argued that once the electors had cast their votes they had no further right to influence the members they had elected, as the Bill of Rights only allowed subjects to petition the King.

Austria was now fighting France and Spain in Italy, and as Louis refused to make any concessions, William used his legal authority to form a new Grand Alliance in September; William, the Emperor, and the Dutch determined to fight until Louis would allow the Dutch to garrison the barrier fortresses, agree to give Spanish Italy to Leopold, and promise that the thrones of France and Spain should never be united. Before the treaty was actually signed James II died, and Louis chivalrously, if foolishly, kept his promise to the dead king and acknowledged his son as King of England despite the Treaty of Ryswick. He went too far even for the peace-loving Tories, and William was able to obtain a new Parliament enthusiastic for the war, although the actual Whig majority was slight. Acts were quickly passed ordering all office-holders formally to abjure the Pretender, and William was given supplies sufficient for a large army and a strong navy. At the moment of his triumph a fall from his horse led to William's death a few days later, March 8, 1702, but Marlborough, whom he had taken once more into favour, was far more fit for the duties of commander-in-chief than the dead King.

CHAPTER II

THE EVOLUTION OF THE CABINET AND PRIME MINISTER. PART II

ANNE, the new queen, was a strong Churchwoman and so a Tory, but Marlborough's wife had already acquired so much influence over her that he easily kept and even increased his authority. To please Anne he professed to be a Tory, but he preferred Moderate Tories, like the able Treasurer Godolphin,

and early in 1704 he managed to replace the extremists Rochester and Nottingham by Harley and St. John, who, like Marlborough, had no scruple about assisting the rebellious Camisards of France, and agreed with the Whig plan of defending the Dutch by sending an army to the Continent.

Marlborough was an ideal leader for the War of the Spanish Succession; in his youth he had served under the brilliant Turenne, but besides learning from him the French art of war he was possessed of an extraordinary genius for adapting his lessons and for improving on his master. Louis XIV was no soldier, but he had an able war minister, Louvois, and many well-trained troops. He had also the "interior lines" of action, and not only was his weakest frontier covered by the Spanish Netherlands, but he had an ally in the Elector of Bavaria, by whose help he could both attack the Emperor in Italy and also prevent him from assisting Marlborough and the Dutch. At the last moment the Duke of Savoy, "whose geographical position prevented him from being an honest man," decided to join the Allies, and the Portuguese were also won over by the Methuen Treaty, which gave their wines a preferential market in England.

As Louis XIV could threaten the Dutch both from the Spanish Netherlands and along the Rhine, Marlborough had first to win their confidence before he could strike his real blow at the Elector of Bavaria, which would weaken the French hold on Southern Germany. To secure the use of the Dutch troops he spent two years, 1702 and 1703, in capturing the forts in the valley of the Meuse and along the Rhine, but the Dutch were still unwilling to give Marlborough a free hand. By 1704 the French and Bavarians were completely masters of South Germany, and threatened to attack Vienna itself. By a trick, Marlborough induced the Dutch to march up the Rhine valley till it was too late to return, and then led the combined armies into Bavaria. Here, in conjunction with the Austrian army brought from Italy by Prince Eugene, and a German army under Louis of Baden, Marlborough forced on the long-wished-for battle with Marshal Tallard, the French commander, who, as Marlborough expected, had been sent by Louis XIV to the defence of the Elector of Bavaria. At Blenheim, superior generalship inflicted on the French their first real defeat for over sixty years.

Now the prestige of victory gave Marlborough an immense

advantage, and by the end of 1704 he had driven the French from Germany and earned the manor of Woodstock and the palace called after his "famous victory." Two years later, at Ramillies, near Namur, he again defeated the French under Villeroy so thoroughly that they had to evacuate most of the Spanish Netherlands. However, the Dutch soon alienated the sympathies of the inhabitants, and, encouraged by their successes elsewhere, the French made a fresh attempt to reconquer the country. Their new commanders were Louis' grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, and Marshal Vendôme, but at Oudenarde in 1708 Marlborough, once more helped by Prince Eugene, inflicted a third crushing defeat on the French. When the Allies opened a way to the invasion of France by the capture of Lille even Louis XIV talked of peace. However, the Allies were insistent that he should not only abandon his grandson Philip, but also help to expel him from Spain. Louis was justified in his refusal both by natural affection and the attitude of the Spaniards themselves.

Indeed, the Allies had been more successful under Marlborough than under their other commanders. It is true that by 1706 Prince Eugene had raised the siege of Turin and driven the French from Italy, but in Spain itself the cause of the Archduke Charles was by no means flourishing. Charles III, as he was styled, could count on the support of the Portuguese and the English, but this very fact gave his rival Philip V the affection of the Spaniards as a whole. In 1704 an English fleet surprised the great rock fortress of Gibraltar, which was quite inadequately defended, and not only did Philip V fail to retake it, but in 1705 he also lost Barcelona, and soon afterwards the important province of Catalonia, of which it was the capital. The English leader—the eccentric Tory Earl of Peterborough—was better fitted to make than to keep conquests, and although he even wrested Valencia from Philip V, such native support as he won was due more to the Catalonian desire for local autonomy than to enthusiasm for the cause of Charles III. The Duke of Berwick, illegitimate son of James II, had been sent with a French army to assist Philip V. He was a good soldier, and although Galway with a mixed Anglo-Portuguese army marched from Lisbon and captured Madrid in 1706, Berwick finally forced him to retire into Valencia. Against this success could be set the failure of the French to take Barcelona and

the revolt of Aragon to Charles III, but in 1707 an English attack on Toulon failed, and finally, at Almanza, Berwick utterly defeated Galway.

When Louis rejected the impossible terms offered by the Allies in 1708 he made a noble appeal to his people, and put the command of the last army of France in the capable hands of Marshal Villars. Villars had for the past few years been employed in attempts to suppress the Camisards or Huguenot insurgents in the Cevennes, and he was as cautious as he was capable. He decided that the best use he could make of his half-starved and ill-equipped troops would be to cover the road to Paris by acting strictly on the defensive at the strong position of Malplaquet near the frontier. Marlborough and Prince Eugene only drove him from this post on September 11, 1709, after they had lost twenty thousand men. Villars only lost twelve thousand men, and did not retreat far. The capture of Mons was Marlborough's last great success. He was refused the post of Captain-general for life which he sought, and in 1711 he was recalled by the new Tory Government.

To understand the unexpected relief which Louis XIV thus obtained it is necessary to go back a little. At first the Whigs had been popular both with the Queen and the nation, and they had merited their popularity. Marlborough's wife had won an unbounded influence over the Queen, which even the imperious and domineering character of Duchess Sarah did not for many years shake. Marlborough's victories, though to please Anne he was nominally a Tory, had greatly helped the war party, and he had conciliated the Moderate Tories by admitting Godolphin, Harley, and St. John to office. When a Whig Parliament was elected in 1705, Marlborough and Godolphin found no difficulty in working with it, and Godolphin won great popularity by persuading the Scots to agree to a union of the Parliaments of the two countries.

In William III's reign the Darien Company had been formed in 1699 to found a Scottish colony on the Isthmus of Panama or Darien. The scheme had been a failure owing partly to the climate, but also largely to the hostility of the Spaniards. Declaring that William and the English had not fairly supported the settlers, the Scottish Parliament forced Anne to accept the "Act of Security," under which the English were practically offered the alternatives of giving the Scots

free trade with England and her colonies, or of seeing Scotland an independent and probably hostile kingdom on Anne's death. In 1707, after many foolish threats on either side, it was agreed that the two Parliaments were to be united; sixteen peers and forty-five commoners were to represent Scotland at Westminster. Moreover, the Scots were to retain their own Church and their own laws, and besides automatically gaining commercial equality with the English they received a sum of money out of which the Darien shareholders could be compensated. It was unfortunate that the claims of the Irish were not so readily recognized by Anne's ministers. Nothing was done to remedy the violation of the Treaty of Limerick by the Irish Parliament, and even the Irish Protestants found their commercial interests ruthlessly sacrificed to those of England.

However, the Whig Parliament was carried away by its successes. Not only were the Tories gradually ousted from the ministry, but by 1708 even Marlborough and Godolphin had to profess themselves Whigs and accept as colleagues old Whigs such as Somers and Wharton. Anne was deeply offended, and unfortunately for Marlborough his wife's temper began to weary the Queen, who found a more congenial friend in Harley's cousin, Abigail Hill, who married Colonel Masham in 1707. Anne personally preferred the Tories, as she held that the Whigs were no true friends of the Church, but she professed to desire a coalition ministry of Moderates. Harley and St. John took their dismissal ill, and used Mrs. Masham to poison the Queen's mind against her Whig ministry. The latter were made to feel that they owed their tenure of office purely to the support of the House of Commons, and when they rejected Louis' overtures for peace after Oudenarde the Tories found it easy to persuade a good many people that the war was being continued largely for the Whig Party's private ends.

Soon a foolish action of the Whigs gave Anne the chance she and Harley sought. A High Tory preacher, Dr. Sacheverell, had at St. Paul's on November 5, 1709, defended the old Anglican royalist creed of non-resistance, and had described the Church as being "in peril amongst false brethren." His language about the Whigs and their Dissenting Allies was so violent that, despite the warning of Somers, the ministry insisted on impeaching him in 1710. Anne openly showed her

partisanship, to the delight of the London mob, which now displayed extreme hate against Dissenters and burnt their chapels. When the Whig House of Lords ordered Sacheverell's sermon to be burnt and forbade him to preach for three years, Anne ostentatiously presented him with a rich living. Marlborough, who had nothing to do with the impeachment, shared the blame both for the trial and the failure of fresh peace negotiations, and Anne, backed by Harley, announced that she would once more have a mixed ministry of Moderates.

However, when the elections of 1710 took place the strong Anglican feeling that had been roused by the impeachment caused the Tories to win an overwhelming victory. Not only were the Whig advisers dismissed, but Harley and St. John were quite unable to restrain their followers from taking the utmost advantage of their victory. An Act was passed imposing a property qualification on Members of Parliament in 1711, followed by another against Occasional Conformists which had been previously rejected by the Whig House of Lords, and finally, in 1714, despite the protests of thirty-three peers, the Tory majority placed on the Statute book the Schism Act by which all schoolmasters, whether their school was public or private, must be Anglicans and licensed by a bishop. Under such circumstances it was to be expected that they would insist on bringing the war to an end, since they believed its continuance only benefited their rivals.

After the defeat at Almanza in 1707 the Allies had had a momentary gleam of success. General Stanhope captured Minorca in 1708, and in 1710 a joint Anglo-Austrian army defeated the Spaniards at Saragossa and captured Madrid; however, by December 1710 Vendôme, Philip's French general, defeated and captured Stanhope at Brihuega, and handled the Austrians so severely at Villa Viciosa that soon nothing but the district around Barcelona was left to Charles III. Even before the news reached England the Tory ministers had secretly approached Louis XIV, and in 1711, thanks largely to the work of their emissary Matthew Prior the poet, they privately came to terms with Louis. As the Archduke Charles in this year became Emperor, they were justified in their change of attitude, but nothing can excuse their deliberate deception of their Dutch allies as to the proposed treaty.

Marlborough was now dismissed, together with his wife, and had to answer charges of peculation dictated largely by party

feeling. To gain support for the new peace policy the Tories tried to win over the wits and writers of the London coffee-houses, who, in the absence of newspapers, largely moulded public opinion. Hitherto the Whig Addison had been a great asset to his party by his clever satires on the Tory squires, but now one of the former Whig writers, the satirist and pamphleteer Jonathan Swift, was won over by the Tories. Early in 1710 he published an exceedingly able attack on the Whig policy in the form of a pamphlet called "The Conduct of the Allies," in which he attributed the lowest and most selfish motives to the Austrians and the Dutch. Although much of Swift's hostility to the war can be traced to his anger at being refused a bishopric by the Whigs, he did voice the opinion of many who shared his fear lest the Whig patronage of the Dissenters might bring the fanatics once more into power in England.

However, Harley found that the High Tory Nottingham, angry at his exclusion from office, had agreed to support the opposition of the Whig lords to the peace policy in return for their support of the Occasional Conformity Act. Seeing that he would be placed in a small minority in the House of Lords, Harley persuaded Anne to create twelve Moderate Tory peers, and so unintentionally taught the House of Commons how to make its will prevail in any dispute with the Lords—a lesson greatly to the detriment of his party in after years. Harley was now created Lord High Treasurer and Earl of Oxford, and St. John became Viscount Bolingbroke. In March 1713, fifteen months after formal negotiations had begun, England and France signed the Treaty of Utrecht. For some time the Emperor refused to agree, although Prince Eugene, deprived of Marlborough's help, had been defeated by Villars at the Bridge of Denain. The Dutch, despite their justifiable anger, could not afford to refuse: their army had only been saved from annihilation by a chivalrous warning which the new English general, the Tory Ormonde, had sent them in defiance of his instructions.

The Treaty of Utrecht could not be severely criticized if the betrayal of the Dutch and the abandonment of the Catalans could be forgotten. The Tories might fairly say that Charles VI as emperor would be far more dangerous on the Spanish throne than the younger grandson of Louis, Philip V, especially as it was definitely agreed that the thrones

of France and Spain should never be united. England got Gibraltar and Minorca, which gave her the gate of the Mediterranean, and her American acquisitions were valuable; the Hudson's Bay Territory, Newfoundland, and Acadie or Nova Scotia, together with the French half of St. Kitts surrendered by Louis XIV, were augmented by commercial concessions from Spain which gave England the Asiento or profitable contract to supply Spanish America with negro slaves, and also permission to send yearly a ship of 600 tons burden to trade at Panama. The Emperor was offered Naples, Milan, and Sardinia, and also the Spanish Netherlands on condition that he allowed the Dutch to garrison certain fortresses as a barrier against France. Sicily was nominally given to the Duke of Savoy, but he was later forced to exchange it for the less valuable Sardinia.

The Treaty of Utrecht marked the failure of France to establish her ascendancy in Europe, and the final ruin of Spain as a Great Power. The Dutch had fared scarcely better, for their commerce never wholly recovered from the effects of the war. Henceforward, and for nearly 100 years, each state strove selfishly for its own interests, as there was now no need to ally against any one predominant power. England had fought France in defence of the Protestant succession and constitutional government with scarcely a break from 1689 to 1713; during the rest of the century, and down to 1815, the second Hundred Years War was being waged for colonial supremacy, especially in America and India. The attempt of Spain to wriggle out of the Treaty of Utrecht, and the ambition of the unscrupulous Prussian king, Frederick the Great, to dominate Germany, caused France to increase her financial difficulties by participation in the War of the Austrian Succession. In this war the English merchants first began to recognize the greatness of the prize to be gained by successful warfare in India and America, and in the Seven Years War which soon followed, their champion, the elder Pitt, fully justified the boast that "he made trade flourish by war." By England's possession of Gibraltar, the French fleet was split into two weak divisions, which were beaten and ruined in turn, and their army in Europe was tempted to dash itself to destruction against the Prussian troops which England had subsidized for her own purpose. Meanwhile English sea-power, dominant by the decay of the Dutch and French

navies, tore from France the coveted markets of Canada and India, and although French help to the revolted American colonies to some extent avenged the Treaty of Paris in the Treaty of Versailles, yet the participation of France in the War of American Independence only served to hasten on the French Revolution by making financial reform hopeless, and by introducing revolutionary sentiments among a people already prepared by Voltaire and Rousseau.

The cautious, temporizing Oxford and his brilliant, cynical colleague Bolingbroke had agreed in the dismissal of Marlborough and in terminating the war. They even agreed in looking with no small contempt on the vagaries of their extremist followers, but neither could endure the supremacy of his rival. The Whigs appeared to be so utterly discredited that it seemed safe to acquiesce in the desire of many Tories, and to some extent of the Queen also, that the old Pretender should, under suitable guarantees, be restored to his rights of succession on Anne's death. The Pretender was willing to make all concessions save one—conversion to the Anglican Church—and yet that point was vital. Oxford knew his party well, and recognizing that the unconditional Jacobites were few in number, hung back. The Tories as a whole were unwilling to accept the Electress of Hanover, and yet as Anglicans were unable to support the Pretender so long as he remained a Roman Catholic. Bolingbroke had no religious scruples, but though it is doubtful whether he was prepared as yet to accept the Pretender on his own terms, he was quite willing to try Swift's plan. Legislation against the Dissenters on the lines of the Schism Act already mentioned would entrench the Tories in power so strongly that the new Hanoverian rulers would be puppets in their hands. Oxford was not hostile to peaceful Dissenters, and his cautious nature disliked extreme measures of any kind. Bolingbroke certainly succeeded in obtaining his rival's dismissal, but before he could find a subservient successor or even determine what to do the Queen fell ill. Cabinet Government was not definitely established, and so two Whig lords, the Duke of Argyll and the Duke of Somerset, were able to persuade Anne to appoint the Duke of Shrewsbury, a definite Whig, in Oxford's place.

Bolingbroke could not carry out his schemes now, for although the Electress actually died a few weeks before

Anne's own death on August 1, 1714, the Whig lords had no difficulty in obtaining the throne for her son as George I. At once, by the new king's orders, the Tory office-holders were superseded by Whigs designated by himself from among the less important members of the party, and Bolingbroke fled to France. George came over to England, after some delay, intending to exercise real authority. However, he could speak no English, and his ministers knew no German. At the council table the King could obviously exercise no control, since the only information he got was couched in Latin, a language only imperfectly known by either party. Naturally George soon wearied of the awkward situation and ceased to attend the council meetings. Indeed, he much preferred his beloved Hanover to England, and spent all the time he could manage there. Automatically there arose a state of affairs which Bolingbroke had striven for in vain, since Anne had never relinquished her right to preside at meetings of the ministers. Now, however, the ministers were perforce of one party, since George could not trust the Tories, and in his absence the most important member of the ministry naturally presided over their deliberations. It became the duty of this member to report to the King the advice given to him jointly by the Cabinet, as the meeting of the ministers came to be called, and he automatically assumed the position of chief minister so much desired by Bolingbroke, although at first his authority was resisted by his colleagues.

The great Whig lords owed their power to the dissension among their rivals which had resulted from the attitude of the Pretender and the quarrel of Oxford and Bolingbroke, and when, thanks to the unpreparedness of the Tories, they won the election of 1715, their troubles were only just beginning. Actually they had no desire to entrust the control of the State to the majority of the nation, but aimed at forming an aristocratic republic or oligarchy which should maintain itself by pleasing the trading classes and conciliating the Dissenters, their allies, without rousing too much hostility among the Tories. As landed proprietors they could influence the county elections, and their middle-class allies controlled the elections of many boroughs where the Whig or Tory lords had no power. The Whig Oligarchy propped up its authority by rotten boroughs, pocket boroughs, and often by sheer bribery and corruption, using for their purpose the places and pensions

in the royal gift. Fortunately for themselves also they were forced by the precarious nature of their power to act together, and for fifty years they produced a succession of leaders to whom in turn the party gave undivided allegiance.

Far otherwise was it with the Tories. Many of them, in fear of a Popish king, actually supported the Whigs; a large proportion of the rest sullenly acquiesced, and only in Scotland and the northern counties could active Jacobites be found. When the armed rising did take place it was a hopeless failure. Louis XIV died before Bolingbroke, now an exile in France, could persuade him to act. When the Old Pretender did land in Scotland all was over, and he had to return almost at once. The Earl of Mar—"Bobbing John" as men called him in derision—had proclaimed the Pretender as James III and VIII, and even fought a drawn battle at Sheriffmuir with George's champion, the Duke of Argyll, but he had not been able to effect a junction with the English Jacobites. The rebellion in England was hopelessly mismanaged, although under abler leaders the numerous supporters of the Stuarts might have seriously threatened the throne of George I.

The gallant Earl of Derwentwater, son of Mary Tudor, the illegitimate daughter of Charles II, feeling that his Roman Catholic religion might compromise his party, had allowed the incompetent Thomas Forster, the Member of Parliament for Northumberland, to lead the rising. Helped by Scottish nobles such as Kenmure and Nithsdale, Forster soon raised a large body of men and endeavoured to march into Lancashire, where Jacobites were numerous. However, he was ignominiously hemmed in at Preston and surrendered to a smaller besieging force on the very day of the battle of Sheriffmuir, November 13, 1715. Derwentwater, Kenmure, and a number of less important persons were beheaded; Nithsdale escaped by the devotion of his wife, who exchanged clothes with him in prison, and Forster, who was largely to blame for the disaster, was also successful in escaping to the Continent, thanks to the cleverness of his sister, the heroic Dorothy Forster. Many of the Jacobites who escaped death were ruined by the forfeiture of their estates. As though to reassure the Whigs of their victory, the Pretender dismissed Bolingbroke on his return to France early in 1716, and deprived himself of the only adviser who could have perhaps restored him to the throne of his fathers.

Throughout the crisis the Whigs had been favoured by fortune. The disturbances at the elections of 1715 had been made the excuse for passing the so-called Riot Act, which had given the authorities the legal right to use force on the first symptoms of disaffection, and immediately the rebellion broke out the leading English Jacobites were arrested. Harley had already been impeached by the Whig House of Commons and sent to the Tower, and the Tories, cowed for the moment by the Riot Act, could offer no resistance. The chief Whig leaders, Townshend, Stanhope, and Walpole, knew the essential weakness of their present position and used their triumph to pass the Septennial Act, which prolonged the life of the existing Whig Parliament to seven years instead of the former three. Future Parliaments also were to sit for seven years, but the Whigs hoped to have made their power secure before the next election and disregarded all protests.

George I had his own favourite schemes for the aggrandisement of Hanover by English help. In 1715 he purchased Bremen and Verden from Denmark, which had conquered them from Sweden, but when he proceeded to squander English gold on his Hanoverian favourites of both sexes Townshend and Walpole objected, and they also refused to agree to a war with Russia when the Czar interfered in Mecklenburg. Naturally the fiery Swedish King Charles XII decided to support the Pretender, and he joined in the wild schemes of the new Spanish minister, Cardinal Alberoni. The latter, a native of Parma in Italy, had done much to restore Spain's ancient prosperity, but his master, Philip V, had ruined all his schemes by intriguing in France in the hope of succeeding his sickly nephew, Louis XV, despite the Treaty of Utrecht. Naturally, Philip Duke of Orleans, the heir according to the Treaty of Utrecht, who acted as Regent of France, threw himself into the arms of George I, and in 1717 made with England and the Dutch a triple alliance to preserve the Treaty of Utrecht. Stanhope alone entered whole-heartedly into George's schemes, and when his rivals would not accept his lead the King dismissed them. War was not formally declared, but an English fleet under Byng utterly destroyed the new Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro, lest it should interfere with the Emperor's schemes in Sicily. This won Austria's help, but the Quadruple Alliance was answered by an invasion of Scotland by the Spaniards. It failed miserably, and all

further danger was removed by the death of Charles XII in 1718 and the enforced dismissal of Alberoni in 1719.

Stanhope and his followers feared a Tory triumph at the next election despite the repeal of the Occasional Conformity Act and the Schism Act, since they knew that they could count on the bitter hatred of Townshend, Walpole, and Pulteney, who now led a rival section of the Whigs. Desiring to control at least one branch of the legislature and so be able to resist both King and Tories, Stanhope's followers brought in a Peerage Bill, according to which the King might only create six new peerages in addition to filling up extinct places in the House of Lords. Had this Bill been carried it would have been quite impossible to swamp the House of Lords as in 1713. Walpole, however, realized that the ultimate alternative to such swamping was revolution, and he cleverly defeated the Bill by appealing to the vanity of the House of Commons and pointing out that if it were carried it would effectually prevent the members of that House from gaining patents of nobility. Had Stanhope got his way a *legal* Whig Oligarchy would have resulted, but its career would have been cut short by a Tory triumph and probably a Stuart restoration. Soon a fresh blunder by his rivals gave Walpole a chance to set up an *extra-constitutional* Whig Oligarchy with himself as Prime Minister. They had favoured the unlucky South Sea Company.

In 1711 Harley had formed the South Sea Company to take advantage of the commercial concessions which Spain was to be induced to make in the expected treaty. It was not, however, till 1720, when Stanhope made the fresh peace with Spain, that English merchants actually were allowed to carry on the coveted trade with Panama. At once the South Sea Company's shares began to rise, and similar companies were formed, often of the most farcical character. The mania for speculation in England was paralleled only by the contemporary outburst in France, and a wild scheme was sanctioned by Parliament, according to which the South Sea Company took over a portion of the National Debt and allowed the nation's creditors to take up shares in that company instead. At first all went well, for by August 1720 the £100 shares had become nominally worth £1000 and the exchange was profitable. However, the speculation in obviously swindling schemes alarmed the South Sea Company's Directors, but when they prosecuted the promoters of such schemes their

own shares began to fall rapidly until they reached £135 per £100 share.

Unfortunately for Stanhope, although he personally was guiltless of anything save carelessness, Aislabie, his Chancellor of the Exchequer, and some of the other ministers, could not show an equally innocent record, and in endeavouring to defend himself from groundless charges Stanhope fell back into a fit from which he died. In April 1721 Walpole became First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and by his financial skill minimized the full force of the disaster to the unfortunate shareholders. His success undoubtedly saved the Whigs from defeat when, according to the Septennial Act, Parliament was dissolved in March 1722, and it ensured for Walpole a period of office lasting twenty-one years. He soon proved himself indispensable to his party, and the Whig lords found that they had given themselves a master. Walpole was a far abler man than his rivals; he soon became in reality what they called him in derision—the sole and Prime Minister. Henceforth, if the Cabinet controlled the King and Parliament, Walpole controlled the members of the Cabinet. It is true that he disclaimed the title of Prime Minister, but he claimed the authority, and any colleague who dared to oppose him was forced to resign.

CHAPTER III

THE RULE OF THE WHIG OLIGARCHY

For nearly fifty years from the accession of the house of Hanover the Whigs were the predominant party in England. The causes of this long lease of power are not hard to find. The Whigs and the Hanoverian kings had a common interest in keeping the Tories out of office: a Tory triumph would probably mean the restoration of the Stuarts. During these years the Tory Party was rent by faction, while the Whigs were generally submissive to one leader at a time. The great Whig lords who for the most part formed or influenced the Cabinet were in a very real sense an oligarchy—"the government of a few"—and, although they observed the forms of parliamentary government they departed widely from its spirit. Personally, they were often able to control the elections by

their local influence in the few constituencies where any vestiges of popular choice remained, but there were also rotten boroughs where the so-called "freemen," or the local governing body, frankly sold to the highest bidder their right to elect two members to the House of Commons. An even more glaring abuse was the system of pocket boroughs where one man controlled or could effectively influence the scanty roll of electors who alone had the right to vote. In the eighteenth century the power of the great lords depended less upon their ability than upon the number of parliamentary seats which they could influence. Thanks to the good and mild government of Walpole, many Tories became reconciled to Hanoverian rule, and the commercial middle class, among whom the Dissenters were strong, were appeased by the national prosperity, and by a religious toleration which went beyond the law of 1689 and allowed them to break the Test Act with impunity and hold civic offices. Among the Members of Parliament all shame early disappeared. They allowed their votes to be bought by pensions, honours, and sinecure appointments, and the Prime Minister, able to use all the favours in the gift of the King, was a willing purchaser.

Sir Robert Walpole towered high above his contemporaries both in power and ability. Burke's verdict is very just: "Walpole preserved the crown to the house of Hanover, and with it, its laws and liberties to this country." It is easy to criticize Walpole; he was a man of coarse tastes and coarse language, greedy of power, and though not the inventor of the system of parliamentary corruption, at any rate the minister who first applied it on a large scale as the normal method of securing a majority. His good points often escape notice; if he forced rivals to resign he did not seek their death, nor did he even interfere with the wildest talk of the Jacobites, and he gave to our government the character of mildness towards political opponents which has been one of its greatest glories. He realized that the Hanoverian line was necessary for the preservation of the national liberties, but he hoped to win support for it from both Whigs and Tories by pursuing a policy both at home and abroad which should lead to peace, and so national prosperity.

In home affairs, Walpole's policy was "Let sleeping dogs lie." He would not allow Convocation to meet, nor would he appoint Tory prelates, but he refused to arouse the hostility

of the Church, as in 1710, by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. When the Dissenters protested, he bade them be content with the Act which he passed each year to indemnify all those who held office in defiance of the Test Act. This system secured their support, and the middle class generally were won over by his evident willingness to favour trade and commerce by every means in his power. Walpole was an enlightened mercantilist—that is, he believed that the State should encourage such trade and commerce as would increase the national wealth, but he was wise enough to consult the merchants, or at least not to press measures to which they were opposed. In the King's Speech of 1721 occurs the significant phrase that nothing could extend English commerce more than "to make the exportation of our own manufactures and the importation of commodities used in the manufacturing of them as practicable and as easy as may be." The sequel came when Walpole removed the export duties on 106 articles and the import duties on 38 articles of raw material. He could spare a thought for colonial trade also, and in 1730 allowed the planters of Carolina and Georgia to export their rice to any place south of Cape Finisterre if they used British ships and crews.

Walpole determined from the beginning to avoid any conflict with the nation in general, but to insist upon his supremacy over his colleagues. For the remaining six years of the reign of George I he found his task fairly easy. Lord Carteret, who presumed on his knowledge of German to turn the King against Walpole's policy of peace with France, was forced to resign his post, but the minister proved himself less stern when the mischievous Dean Swift, offended by a fancied lack of appreciation, set all Ireland on fire by the *Drapier's Letters*. In these letters Swift prophesied all possible evils to the land as likely to be the result of a new copper coinage which a certain man named Wood had been allowed to issue after bribing the King's mistresses. Walpole withdrew the grant to avoid trouble. For a moment in 1727, on the death of George I, Walpole's power was shaken, for the new king, George II, tried to displace him in favour of Sir Spencer Compton. However, Compton proved so utterly incompetent that Walpole easily regained his position by a promise to increase the royal civil list, and he took care to secure the favour of Queen Caroline also. Caroline had unbounded

influence over her husband, for she helped him in his difficulties and turned a blind eye to his infidelities, and, as a result, retained power for herself and Walpole until her death.

Walpole's colleagues endured his claims to supreme power with ill-concealed impatience, and soon Townshend, though Walpole's brother-in-law, shared Carteret's fate. Pulteney, the great Whig orator, had long before declared against Walpole, and in conjunction with Bolingbroke attacked him bitterly in their weekly journal, *The Craftsman*. Bolingbroke had gained permission to return from exile by bribing the King's mistress in 1723, but Walpole refused to allow him to sit in the House of Lords. The discontented Whigs arrogated to themselves the title of "Patriots," but Walpole scornfully declared that "all these men have their price." He said he could easily manufacture a patriot by refusing a request. It is true that many of the patriots opposed Walpole on personal grounds, often merely because he would not bribe them as highly as they desired. He preferred to rely upon less dangerous if less brilliant men, such as the brothers Pelham. Unfortunately Walpole's cynicism blinded him to the fact that some of the younger men at least, such as the eloquent orator William Pitt, possessed higher and better ideals than his own. His scoffing nickname of the "Boys" did not really answer the criticisms of Pitt upon the jobbery and corruption which went on unconcealed, and only the indifference to shame of his parliamentary followers saved Walpole.

Walpole's Whig rivals seldom desired more than the supersession of the Prime Minister by one of themselves, but Bolingbroke boldly proposed to abolish the royal dependence on the Whig faction. In his clever pamphlet, "On the Idea of a Patriot King," he propounded a scheme by which the Sovereign should be his own chief minister and should choose his servants impartially for their ability from both Whigs and Tories. The latter party were swiftly shedding their Jacobitism, and would welcome a Hanoverian king who claimed the old prerogatives. Helped by Queen Caroline, Walpole easily kept George II's support, but Frederick Prince of Wales continued the Hanoverian tradition of the heir apparent being on bad terms with his father, and eagerly listened to the new teaching. His court at Leicester House provided a centre for Walpole's enemies, and it is curious that the song, "Rule Britannia," was written for the new party by the poet Thomson to emphasize

their determination not to be "slaves" to the all-powerful minister. The quarrel between father and son, however disgraceful to the individuals, really helped the dynasty by providing the Opposition with an alternative to Jacobitism.

Walpole had now to face an unscrupulous and dangerous Opposition skilfully managed by Bolingbroke, although he never became its avowed leader. Its first great victory was in 1733, when Walpole brought in his miscalled "Excise Scheme." Walpole desired not only to prevent smuggling, but also to make England the greatest free market of the world. He proposed eventually to abolish customs duties in favour of a system of bonded warehouses, where merchants could keep their goods until they were actually sold; then only need duty be paid if the goods were for use in England. Such a scheme was intended to provide additional revenue sufficient to allow Walpole to appease the Tory landowners by reducing the land tax. Actually Walpole only proposed to begin first with the tobacco and wine duties, but the Opposition declared that the system was a return to the unpopular excise of the Commonwealth—that it was merely an excuse for Walpole to send his minions to interfere with the sanctity of the Englishman's home in a pretended search for contraband. At last even the troops could not be relied upon, as they were told that they would be adversely affected by the tax. The common people were taught to cry: "No slavery, no excise, and no wooden shoes," for the scheme was also said to be copied from the unpopular Dutch—the wearers of wooden shoes. Perhaps Walpole could have forced the scheme through Parliament, but he wisely refused to risk the bloodshed that might ensue in the country, and he gave way and withdrew the Bill.

It is easy to blame Walpole for clinging to office, but in those days the principle that a minister should resign rather than abandon a policy of which he approves was hardly valid. Moreover, as a patriot, Walpole honestly shrank from entrusting his unfinished work to the reckless critics of the Opposition. At the ensuing election he retained a good majority, and Bolingbroke in disgust returned to France. In 1737 fresh trouble arose in Edinburgh. Captain Porteous was accused of unnecessary harshness in suppressing a riot by means of the town guard. Having been condemned to death for murder, he was reprieved by the King, but was soon afterwards

hanged by the mob. Walpole threatened the city with condign punishment, but found himself forced to be content with obtaining compensation for the dead man's widow. Soon afterwards the Prince of Wales openly quarrelled with his parents, and the Opposition were certain that Walpole's downfall was at hand, as the King's health was bad and the Prince hated the minister as his father's friend. Although the King recovered, the death of the Queen in the winter of 1737 was almost as great a blow to Walpole. She commended her husband, her children, and the kingdom to the minister's care, but soon he would not be able to save himself from his foes.

Walpole's policy of peace was in the end to prove the cause of his downfall. It has already been described how rivalry with Philip V of Spain forced the French regent Orleans to ally with England in defence of the Treaty of Utrecht. Under Cardinal Fleury France for some time continued this policy of peace, but when an heir was born to Louis XV the Spanish king's ambitions were transferred solely to Italy. With some misgivings Fleury assented to the formation of the first Family Compact or alliance of the Bourbon sovereigns of France and Spain in 1733, and was quite unable to resist the demand of the younger nobility that France should join Spain in an attack on Austria. From the ostensible pretext the quarrel took the name of the War of the Polish Succession. Walpole proudly boasted that out of the many thousands slain in that war not one was an Englishman; but by the peace of Vienna in 1735 Austria had to surrender Naples, Sicily, and a few other places to Philip's third son, Charles, and to allow France the right to annex Lorraine on the death of Louis XV's father-in-law, the Polish ex-king Stanislaus, to whom it was given. Spain never forgot the Treaty of Utrecht and the consequent loss of Gibraltar, and she interpreted in the most grudging spirit the concession that an English ship might visit Panama. Now the prospect of undoing the treaty seemed fair.

It is not just to blame Spain wholly for the war with England that soon ensued. The English ship of 600 tons brought tenders with her to Panama certainly against the spirit of the treaty, and English merchants generally behaved so defiantly that the Spanish customs officials had some excuse for equally high-handed behaviour. Walpole had no wish to provoke a war in such a doubtful cause, but when a certain Captain Jenkin produced before the House of Commons an ear which

he said had been cut off his head by a Spanish coastguard, Walpole had to declare war. Perhaps it was his knowledge of the utter unpreparedness of England for war that led him to utter his famous gibe: "They are ringing their bells now, but they will be wringing their hands soon."

It was the fault of Walpole's peace policy that he did not remember that its best safeguard was sufficient preparation for war. Admiral Vernon certainly did take Porto Bello on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus of Panama, and Admiral Anson sailed round the world after sacking Paita in Peru and capturing the Manilla-Acapulco treasure ship, but otherwise the war at sea was a failure. Walpole was blamed, and narrowly escaped defeat at the elections. Soon afterwards, in February 1742, he had to resign office. Disputed elections were then decided by a strict party vote in the House of Commons, and on the disputed seat at Chippenham Walpole failed by one vote to carry his candidate. Perhaps excessive bribery might have succeeded even yet, but now Bolingbroke was back, using the Prince of Wales as the avowed head of the minister's foes, and Walpole retired to the House of Lords as Earl of Orford. It would probably have been more dignified if he had preferred to resign rather than carry on the war, but perhaps, as in 1733, Walpole was not merely clinging to office: he foresaw that the war with Spain might lead to a war with France on the question of the Austrian Succession, and he desired to retain control of affairs so that he might the sooner bring about peace.

Walpole's opponents agreed in nothing but hatred of the fallen minister, although the most searching inquiry failed to produce the hoped-for excuse to impeach him. In despair of the situation Pulteney joined Orford in the House of Lords as Earl of Bath, while the remainder of the plotters had after all to belie their professions and accept the Earl of Wilmington—the Sir Spencer Compton who had failed in 1727—as nominal Prime Minister. Henry Pelham and his brother the Duke of Newcastle, old followers of Walpole, were able to obtain seats in the new ministry, and received valuable advice from their old leader, who, as Earl of Orford, was secretly almost as powerful with the King as before, although broken in health and burdened with debt. Their only formidable rival was Carteret, who hoped to fill Walpole's place, relying on his knowledge of the German language and German politics.

At first fortune favoured Carteret. The Emperor Charles VI died in 1740, leaving only a daughter, Maria Theresa, to succeed to his vast hereditary dominions. Disregarding the sound advice of Prince Eugene that the best safeguard for her succession was a strong army and a full treasury, he had devoted all his efforts to inducing the European States and his own subjects to agree to a document known as the Pragmatic Sanction, which secured his daughter's rights. She actually obtained possession of his hereditary dominions on his death, but Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, not only aspired to the Empire, but also put in plausible claims to Austria and Bohemia. Unfortunately Charles VI had gratuitously offended the old King of Prussia, and the young king Frederick II, to "avenge him," put forward claims to the important province of Silesia, and occupied it by force. The French Government was now in the hands of the military party, and they proposed to extend French territory on the eastern frontier by helping Frederick and Charles Albert to rob the hated Hapsburgs.

George II trembled for his Hanoverian electorate, and sympathized with Carteret's proposal to send troops to the help of Maria Theresa; moreover, Carteret had formed a plan for reconciling both Frederick and Charles Albert with Maria Theresa, the Queen of Hungary as she was called, and uniting all Germany in an effort to expel the French. Although the Elector of Bavaria was chosen Emperor as Charles VII in the summer of 1742, and although Maria Theresa had to cede Silesia to Frederick, she was able to drive back the Saxons and Bavarians by the enthusiastic help of her Hungarian subjects, and she obtained considerable help from George II. In 1743 the English king, by good luck, defeated the French at Dettingen-on-the-Main, and Carteret almost carried out his scheme by persuading the new Emperor to desert the French. However, Newcastle interfered and the scheme failed; to make things worse, Frederick of Prussia again attacked Maria Theresa. Naturally France declined to accept the view that only Hanover, and not England, opposed her, and lent a fleet to Charles Edward, the young Pretender, for the invasion of England. The fleet was ruined by a storm, and with it the chances of the Jacobites.

Carteret cared nothing for the opinions of the House of Commons, of which he had never been a member, and, as he had no bribes to give, the brothers Pelham soon won the

favour of the members by lavish corruption. The army did not distinguish itself in Germany, for Carteret could not secure able leaders, and the navy was hardly more successful. Naturally the war and Carteret's whole policy became unpopular, and in 1744 Wilmington, the nominal premier, being dead, the Pelhams forced the King to dismiss Carteret or accept their resignation, and so risk a conflict with the House of Commons which they had bribed. George II unwillingly sacrificed Carteret, and Henry Pelham, the First Lord of the Treasury, stepped almost completely into Walpole's old position, but was wiser than his master in exercising supreme power. He avoided Walpole's mistake of driving able critics into opposition; instead he conciliated them by every means in his power. He and his brother lavished bribes of money and honours on the Members of Parliament, and admitted Whigs of such different shades of opinion to office that the ministry came to be known as the Broad-bottomed Administration. The Opposition dwindled away into impotence. Even Pitt, who had thundered against Carteret's scheme of war on behalf of the "beggarly electorate" of Hanover, did not criticize the ministry when it wasted more money than Carteret with even worse results; he knew that, though at present the King would not acquiesce, the Pelhams would admit him to office as soon as possible. An attempt of the Pelhams to defend the Netherlands against the French led to a British defeat by Marshal Saxe at Fontenoy on May 1, 1745. The victory was won for the French largely by the efforts of the Irish Brigade of exiled Jacobites, and it encouraged the young Pretender to make a fresh effort to rouse the Scotch Jacobites against the Hanoverian line of kings.

The Rising of the '45, as it is called, was a mad escapade with no real hope of success. The young prince landed with the "Seven Men of Moidart" on the west coast of Scotland and threw himself on the loyalty of the Highland clans, whose leaders could not resist his pleading, although they felt they were acting rashly in the absence of foreign aid. However, the utter incapacity of Sir John Cope, the Hanoverian commander, soon gave the Jacobites possession of most of Scotland. Edinburgh, remembering her departed glories as a capital, welcomed "Bonnie Prince Charlie," and only the wily traders of Glasgow, who had gained so much by the union, supported the Hanoverian Campbells and MacLeods. A

recent excise duty on whisky decided many waverers, and when "Johnny Cope" at last "wakened up" and returned from Inverness to Dunbar by sea it was too late. His little army was utterly routed by a slightly larger force of half-armed Highlanders at Prestonpans, near Edinburgh, on the 21st of September, and the first to reach Berwick with the news of the Highland claymore's triumph was Cope himself.

Unfortunately for the Jacobite cause, the young prince wasted valuable time on playing at royalty in Holyrood. Had he crossed the Border at once there would have been no force to resist him, as the English army was still on the Continent. Even as it was, George II seriously prepared to return to Hanover if the Pretender advanced on London. The Pelhams took advantage of his panic to rivet their authority still more firmly. They demanded that the King should admit Pitt to office, and got their way, although at first he was kept from actual contact with the King. The triumph of the Prime Minister was now complete, and George could say bitterly, with reason: "Ministers are king in this country." As Charles Edward advanced he found neither opposition nor support; thanks to Walpole, even the Tories were for the most part cured of Jacobitism in England, and preferred solid prosperity to sentiment. December 5, however, the day that the Highlanders reached Derby, was indeed "Black Friday" for London, and Charles has been sometimes blamed because he did not insist on his plan to march direct on London, where only the King's Guards, stationed at Finchley, could dispute his claim. However, the Highland chiefs were eager to return, as they had found so few recruits and heard that armies in the eastern districts were preparing to cut off their retreat.

The Prince reached Scotland unmolested, and even scattered the troops of the incompetent Hawley at Falkirk as he tried to cut off the retreat to the Highlands. However, the end soon came; the King's second son, the Duke of Cumberland, brought up 8000 well-drilled troops to oppose the scanty Jacobite forces, now distracted by failure and jealousy. At Culloden Moor, near Inverness, on April 16, 1746, an attempted surprise attack by Charles was too late, and despite the gallantry of those Jacobites who actually fought they were completely crushed. Cumberland earned the terrible name of "The Butcher" by the unnecessary cruelty he displayed

towards the conquered, but Charles Edward, after strange adventures, reached France safely, thanks to the devotion of Flora Macdonald and the faithfulness of the Highland peasantry, who could not be induced to earn the price of £30,000 that had been placed on his head. However, the Jacobite cause finally failed at Culloden, for Charles Edward belied his early promise by a dissolute after-life. On his death in 1788 he left no children, and his brother Henry, Cardinal York, who did not die till 1807, was on almost friendly terms with George III.

The Continental War was gladly ended by the Pelhams at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. All parties surrendered their conquests except Frederick, who kept Silesia, while Maria Theresa had to find a recompense in the possession of the Imperial Crown by her husband. However, the seven years which followed were but an uneasy truce; the English and French hardly respected the truce in India and America, while Maria Theresa was plainly bent on regaining Silesia as soon as possible. Henry Pelham lived until 1754, but the history of England during these six years proved quite uneventful. Practically the only approach to excitement was when, by Act of Parliament in 1751, England adopted the reformed calendar ordered by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582. Eleven days were dropped between September 1 and September 12, and Hogarth's brush has immortalized the foolish election cry of "Give us our eleven days." Perhaps the most useful measure of Henry Pelham was the consolidation of the various loans rendered necessary by the war into a single stock with an uniform interest of 3 per cent.—the famous three-per-cent. consols of later days.

More cautious than Walpole, Henry Pelham was in nobleness of character his inferior. He appears at his worst in his relations with the Highlanders after Culloden. It might have been necessary to disarm the clans and limit the power of the chiefs, but it was hardly policy to proscribe the national dress and to persecute relentlessly the humblest partisans of the Stuarts. The chiefs, perhaps, gained by the sale of their hereditary rights of jurisdiction, for the land of the clan was henceforth legally vested in the chief only, and his followers became a mere crowd of poverty-stricken crofters. In later years there occurred wholesale emigration, especially to Canada, and the economic condition of the Highlands was

also improved by the raising of the Highland regiments by Pitt during the Seven Years War.

The history of England for the rest of George II's reign justified his foreboding cry on hearing of Pelham's death: "Now I shall have no more peace." Though Henry Pelham was no heaven-born statesman, he had at least respectable ability as a financier, and he knew how to manage the House of Commons and conciliate possibly dangerous critics. His brother, the Duke of Newcastle, who succeeded him as premier, had only one gift—a certain skill at winning support by bribery and a careful attention to the material interests of his followers. He was no diplomatist, and his fussy incompetence only evoked the scorn of his abler rivals whom his jealousy kept from sharing his authority. Being himself a member of the House of Lords, he had to decide upon the most suitable leader to take his brother's place in the Commons. Of the three men marked out by their ability for the position William Pitt was impossible as a "manager" of the Commons from his hatred of bribery, while the great lawyer Murray, who had fewer scruples, plainly showed that he wished to quit politics for the position of a Lord Chief Justice; the third candidate, Henry Fox, had too few scruples even for the Prime Minister. When Newcastle approached Fox the latter was informed that the funds by which members were bribed would still remain in the Duke's control. Fox refused office on such terms, as he intended to use the position to make a fortune for his son, the more brilliant Charles James Fox. In despair, Newcastle gave the post to the ex-diplomatist Sir Thomas Robinson, but Fox and Pitt joined so heartily in the congenial task of exposing their nominal leader's incompetence that he resigned in despair. Then the Duke offered Fox rather better terms, and secured a colleague who was the best debater in the house, although his undoubted ability as a leader and a statesman was largely nullified by the unpopularity which his greed and shameless corruption earned. Naturally, Pitt attacked the sordid alliance and appealed to the great commercial middle class outside Parliament against the incompetent Prime Minister and his mercenary supporters.

Newcastle soon found himself in difficulties; the English and French settlers were quarrelling as usual in America and India, and the Duke's incompetence allowed England to drift into a war with France totally unprepared. Early defeats led

to Newcastle's resignation in terror at the threats of the London mob, and George II was forced to allow the Whig Duke of Devonshire, Newcastle's rival, to take his place and give the real conduct of affairs to Pitt. However, the King used their weakness in the House of Commons to get rid of them, but Newcastle for eleven weeks was unable to form a ministry. Pitt had told Devonshire: "My Lord, I know that I can save this nation, and I know that no one else can." On his dismissal, Horace Walpole tells us, "it rained gold-boxes."[1] Every important town sent Pitt resolutions of confidence, and no statesman dared to trust Newcastle with the destinies of England. At last, by the mediation of the Duke of Cumberland, Newcastle agreed to allow Pitt the use of his majority if Pitt would accept him as nominal leader. It is easy to sneer at Pitt's convenient blindness to the source of that tainted majority, but as a patriot statesman he saw that the case was urgent. The Seven Years War had just broken out on the Continent; France and Russia had been persuaded by Austria to join in an attack on Frederick of Prussia; Maria Theresa desired revenge for Silesia, while Frederick's coarse jibes had won him the undying hatred of Louis XV of France and the Empress Elizabeth of Russia. George II trembled for Hanover, which lay between France and Prussia, but Pitt trembled for England if France once obtained control of the Rhine and Western Germany. With such an increase of power France might easily tear the wealthy markets of America and India from English merchants, for in those days "trade followed the flag."

Pitt's plan was simple. He pleased George II by offering a small number of English soldiers and a large yearly grant of money to Frederick II in return for a promise to defend Hanover from the French; actually he intended that the French should be forced to waste their resources in this German land war so that they would be unable to cope with England at sea. By the use of England's overwhelming sea-power he could prevent the French from sending reinforcements to America or Canada, while the English armies there could be strengthened sufficiently to enable them to beat the French settlers. For a few years everything happened as Pitt ex-

[1] The reference is to the valuable caskets containing the diplomas of the "Freedom of the City," which London and many other places voted to Pitt.

pected; the French Colonial Empire was largely ruined and their trade and fleet destroyed, while England's oversea dominions and trade increased, and Pitt was hailed by the delighted London merchants as "the minister who made trade flourish by war." The necessary taxes were cheerfully paid, and even Newcastle and George II shared to some extent in Pitt's popularity.

The rivalry with France in America dated in its existing form to the Treaty of Utrecht, which gave England rights not only over the undefined district of Hudson's Bay and Newfoundland—territories long claimed by her—but also over the former French province of Acadie, which the English re-named Nova Scotia, and to which they naturally assigned wider limits than the French wished to allow. English settlers went to Acadie and also pushed down to the frontier of Spanish Florida, founding the new colony of Georgia. The English colonies all possessed very liberal charters and a considerable right to manage their only local affairs. They flourished exceedingly—partly, it must be confessed, by disregarding the legal restraints of the old colonial system, and despite the Navigation Acts carried on a large contraband trade with the Spanish colonies and the West Indies generally. The French colonies of Canada along the St. Lawrence, and Louisiana at the mouth of the Mississippi were far less fortunate; they were governed by a French viceroy with despotic powers; the population was scanty and consisted largely of the feudal tenants of great seigneurs.

Many of the French viceroys had been able men and had made a good fight against natives and English alike. Both French and English desired to monopolize the profitable fur trade, and the French saw with dismay that the English were already making their way across the Alleghany Mountains into the fertile valley of the Ohio. Canada had been attacked by the English both during the War of the Spanish Succession and the War of the Austrian Succession, and now the French authorities formed the plan of barring any further English advance westwards and northwards by a chain of forts stretching from the Mississippi to the St. Lawrence. Shut in between the Alleghanies and the sea, the English would be unable to endanger the expansion of the French in the valley of the Mississippi and its tributaries. What are now the Western States then belonged nominally to Spain, who was the ally of

France. The forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point effectively commanded the only available land route to Quebec, which lay across the narrow isthmus between the Hudson and Lake Champlain. However, the French planted a third important fort—called after the famous Viceroy Duquesne—at the confluence of the Ohio and one of its tributaries, a site already fortified by the English. In 1755, in answer to the complaints of the colonists, the English Government sanctioned an attempt to destroy the fort. War had not been formally declared, since Braddock's mixed force of regulars and colonial militia looked upon the intruders as brigands who had seized English territory. However, the garrison of Fort Duquesne, aided by Indians, ambushed and slew Braddock together with many of the regulars, and only the skill of George Washington saved some of the colonials.

Newcastle was foolish enough to attempt to get revenge by authorizing attacks on French shipping, which were scarcely more successful, and the French retaliated. By an error of judgment Admiral Byng surrendered Minorca to a French fleet without a fight, and was afterwards shot on his own quarter-deck for cowardice—"to encourage the rest," as Voltaire said. Bad news also came from India, where the French were stirring up the natives against the English, and in Germany not only was Frederick of Prussia barely able to hold his own, although he had struck first, but Hanover itself was surrendered to the French by the Convention of Klosterseven largely through the incompetence of the Duke of Cumberland. Just in time Pitt succeeded Newcastle in command. The Convention was denounced, and the alliance with Frederick enabled him not only to save Hanover by the victory of Ferdinand of Brunswick, Frederick's general, at Minden in 1759, but also enabled Frederick himself to beat back his enemies by wonderful victories. The cost of these subsidies to Prussia and the German princes was enormous, but Pitt reconciled the nation to them by proving that he "could conquer America in Germany."

In America Pitt finally managed to discover young and able leaders. Amherst captured Cape Breton Island from the French and destroyed its great fort of Louisbourg, the key of the St. Lawrence, in 1758, while in the same year Fort Duquesne fell and was re-named Pittsburg in the minister's honour. In 1759, the "year of victory," everything went well with Pitt's

plans. After a chequered struggle at sea during 1758, the French fleet was utterly ruined in 1759 in the battle of Quiberon Bay, off the south coast of Brittany, by the English admiral Hawke. Now not only was England secure from invasion, but Pitt could plan his great attack on Canada which France could not hinder. The expedition was to converge on Quebec from three points—up the St. Lawrence from the east, along Lake Champlain by way of Ticonderoga and Crown Point from the south, and down the St. Lawrence by way of Fort Niagara from the west. Perhaps it was too much to expect that the second and third expeditions, which had to fight their way past hostile forts, could time their arrival exactly to the moment when the first attack was to be delivered on Quebec. It was not till 1760, after the city had actually fallen, that they actually reached Quebec, and only a happy combination of good luck and daring on the part of Wolfe, the leader of the eastern expedition, made up for Pitt's faulty strategy.

Montcalm, the French commander, was an able soldier, and finding that he could get no help from Paris, he determined to rely on the bravery of the French settlers and the natural difficulties of the country. Quebec was cleverly defended by utilizing the marshes and streams east of the city. Wolfe, the young leader of the English invaders, had been chosen by Pitt because of the skill and enterprise he had already shown in recent attacks on French fortresses, but he could not force the outlying defences of Quebec. The city itself lay in the angle formed by the St. Lawrence and its tributary the St. Charles, while behind the city from stream to stream ran the lofty plateau known as the Heights of Abraham. Direct attack on the city itself was hopeless, but Wolfe would be forced to retreat by the approach of winter unless he could capture Quebec. At the last moment he learnt that there was a winding path leading from the St. Lawrence up the steep side of the plateau, and as he had already embarked his army and sailed up the St. Lawrence out of sight of the city, he was able to allow his men to drift down to the path in boats unrecognized though not unseen by the French. So hopeless had attacks seemed from that quarter that a bad look-out was kept, and when the unsuspecting sentries had been surprised the English forces had little difficulty in gaining the plateau and forming up for battle. Men afterwards told how Wolfe quoted Grey's *Elegy*, then just published, as the boats approached the landing-place,

later known as Wolfe's Cove, and said that he would rather have written that poem than take Quebec. One of the lines—

"The path of glory leads but to the grave,"

was ominous for Wolfe. Montcalm had been surprised, but in the battle which followed each side fought with a gallantry worthy of such commanders, although victory lay with the English. Wolfe, thrice wounded, died in peace at the moment of victory just as he heard of the French retreat. Montcalm, badly wounded, lingered till the following day, and Quebec surrendered. Some time afterwards the French from Montreal made a gallant though unsuccessful attempt to retake the city, but when Amherst at last arrived from the south Montreal itself was captured, and all Canada was lost to France.

In India the struggle took on rather a different character. Both French and English had first gone as traders by permission of the Great Mogul—the Mohammedan Emperor of India, who ruled at Delhi. Under Akbar, the contemporary of Elizabeth, the Mogul Empire had progressed exceedingly; but some of Akbar's successors were less wise than he, and one of them, Aurungzebe, who died in 1707 after a reign of nearly fifty years, had made his Hindu subjects thoroughly discontented by departing widely from Akbar's policy of religious toleration and by his costly attempts to extend his power in the Deccan or South India. One of the Hindu rebels, Sivaji, had in the Emperor's own lifetime formed the powerful Mahratta State in the hill country of the Western Deccan, and Aurungzebe's successors found that even the Mohammedan subahdars and nawabs, the provincial viceroys and the governors under them, refused more than a nominal obedience. However, Hindus and Mohammedans alike were impartially plundered by the raiding Mahratta horsemen, and only the decadence of the successors of Sivaji and the resulting quarrels of the Mahratta chiefs saved India from ruin.

In the early seventeenth century Madras on the east coast was the chief trading station of the English East India Company, and near by was Pondicherri, the headquarters of the rival French Company. English and French alike as yet made no claims to territorial sovereignty in South-East India—the Carnatic, as it was called; they were merely traders who leased "factories," as the trading centres were called, by permission of the local nawab. However, the French had been able to win

the gratitude of the natives and the Great Mogul, for Dumas, the Governor of Pondicherri, had protected the widow of the Carnatic Nawab from Mahrattas who had murdered her husband. Dumas handed on this prestige to his successor, Dupleix, who formed a plan to interfere in native quarrels by means of sepoys—that is, native soldiers drilled on European lines. When the War of the Austrian Succession broke out Dupleix called in Labourdonnais, the French Governor of Mauritius, by whose aid he conquered Madras. Dupleix, however, quarrelled with his helper, who returned home to disgrace, while he himself gallantly defended Pondicherri against the English fleet. Although forced to surrender Madras by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Dupleix observed no real peace in India, and when the succession to the throne of the Deccan and the Carnatic was both disputed by rival princes, he managed in each case to oust the English candidate by his own, whom he maintained in power by French sepoys. In return the Nizam or Subahdar of the Deccan gave Dupleix authority over the native Nawab of the Carnatic and so in effect over Madras.

At this time Robert Clive was a young clerk in the service of the English East India Company at Madras. So far he had only been remarkable for a thorough dislike of his work and a most undaunted bravery, but his chance came when the English claimant to the Carnatic and a large part of the available English troops were besieged by the French claimant and a large army at Trichinopoli. As a last chance of relieving that town Clive was allowed to take a small force to seize Arcot, the native capital. He not only forced the French candidate to detach a large force for the relief of Arcot, but he even successfully withstood a siege there, and later, helped by a Mahratta army which admired his bravery, he defeated the French and forced their candidate to flee into an exile that led to his murder. Clive's fearlessness won him the title of "Sabat Jung"—the Daring in War—and the native soldiers were devoted to him. In 1753 Clive had to return to England, but by throwing all the blame on Dupleix he procured the latter's recall by the French Government in favour of a more unenterprising successor. Dupleix' schemes had been expensive and, commercially, unprofitable.

Two years later the East India Company sent back Clive to India just on the eve of the Seven Years War. He had a certain number of white troops at his disposal now, and he

had great hopes of ousting French influence both in the Deccan and the Carnatic. However, he had first to turn his attention to Surajah Dowlah, the Subahdar of Bengal, who had picked a quarrel with the English merchants of Calcutta for the sake of their wealth, and had thrust 145 Englishmen and one woman into the famous Black Hole of Calcutta. The room was only eighteen feet by fourteen feet, and the one window looked on to a shaded verandah. For a day and a night the sufferings of the captives lasted, for their gaolers dared not release them without authority, and when the subahdar had slept off his drunken debauch he found only twenty-three of his victims alive. Clive hastened to Bengal to avenge this horrid crime, and as the very servants of the cruel prince hated him Clive had no difficulty in buying the support of the Vizier Meer Jaffier. At Plassey, not far from the native capital of Moorshedabad, on June 27, 1757, 50,000 natives were beaten by Clive's small army of 2,400 men, of whom 900 only were Europeans. The defeated prince was soon murdered, and the treacherous vizier succeeded him as the tool of the English with the inferior title of nawab. Clive did not spare the treasures of Bengal, and his successors showed even less mercy than he, and plundered remorselessly the puppet nawabs and their people till even Clive remonstrated and tried to introduce reforms.

When Pitt came into power he steadily supported Clive, although he did not accept his suggestion that the King should take over Bengal from the East India Company. The French commander in South India, Count Lally, was defeated at Wandewash in the Carnatic in 1760 by Sir Eyre Coote, one of Clive's lieutenants, and in 1761, when Clive had returned to England, Pondicherri also fell and with it all hopes of French dominion in India. Henceforth, although native princes continued to keep a nominal sovereignty, the English East India Company were the real masters of Bengal and South India. They obtained the right to collect the land tax—the zemindary—one of the chief sources of revenue, while they left the administration of justice in the hands of the native rulers, whose task would in any case have been hopeless since the Company's servants, in haste to grow rich, openly defied alike the Company and the nawab and oppressed the helpless Bengalese.

The English were victorious at sea alike in Europe and the

West Indies, but Frederick of Prussia met with alternate victories and defeats at the hands of Russia and Austria. Ferdinand of Brunswick, the victor of Minden, successfully defended West Germany, but in the east only the timely death of his great enemy, the Czarina Elizabeth, saved Frederick from ruin. George II had died on October 26, 1760, and before long the new king, George III, had cleverly brought about Pitt's resignation and the automatic stoppage of Frederick's subsidy. The Prussians never forgave England for what they termed the betrayal of their great king, but when Frederick did make the Peace of Hubertsburg with Austria in 1763 he managed to keep Silesia. At the time of the succession of George III, fresh English victories had disposed France to accept Pitt's rather hard terms of peace, but at the critical moment the English minister learnt that Charles III, the new King of Spain, who had an old grudge against England, had offered to renew the Family Compact with France in fear of future attacks on Spanish America. Pitt proposed to strike first and seize Cuba and the Philippines, but George III took advantage of Newcastle's growing jealousy of Pitt and managed to induce the Cabinet to reject the proposal for a new war. Pitt's resignation was followed by that of Newcastle a short time afterwards when George III ostentatiously deprived him of the disposal of the royal patronage, and soon the Tory Earl of Bute, the King's old tutor, became head of the Cabinet. Bute was clever enough to decrease Pitt's popularity for the time being by inducing him to accept a peerage for his wife and a pension for three lives. Hatred of Pitt, their only able leader, had led the Whig oligarchy to commit suicide to the sole advantage of George III. When Pitt had gone Spain declared war as he had foretold, and although Havannah and Manilla were both captured men gave the glory to Pitt.

CHAPTER IV

THE TORY REACTION

The young king was only twenty-two years of age when he ascended the throne of his grandfather. It was his misfortune that he had been educated by his mother, the wife of Frederick

Prince of Wales, in the principles of Bolingbroke's Patriot King, and had been taught to despise the subserviency of his grandfather to the Whig oligarchy and to hate the great Whig lords themselves as being the sole bar to his own exercise of full royal power. "George, be a king," had been his mother's counsel to him, and he interpreted the advice as sanctioning the most unkingly behaviour. Pitt and the new king agreed in disliking party government, but whereas Pitt would gladly have helped George to summon the best men of all parties to the Cabinet George only desired subservient clerks to carry out his own will. Unfortunately, although his intentions were good, defective education and, perhaps still more, defects of character unfitted George for the part he aspired to play. The eighteenth century was an age of "enlightened despotism," and perhaps George may be forgiven if in his justifiable contempt for the venality of the House of Commons he decided that he might as well be the purchaser of power from its members as allow the oligarchy to purchase power for themselves by distributing offices, pensions, and favours nominally in the royal gift. Morally George III was the best of his line, but his piety and good intentions could not make up for the handicap of a slow moving, not to say obstinate, mind and a deplorably defective judgment. Education might have widened his outlook and improved his capacity for affairs, but almost from the first the shadow of his great affliction was over him, and perhaps his mental balance was never very stable.

The first task before George was to end the war so that he could devote all his energies to his lifework—the restoration of the royal power. Bute simply gave Henry Fox *carte blanche* to buy a majority for the Peace of Paris—the first ominous sign of the new royal policy. England's gains were indeed splendid: all Canada and Cape Breton Island, and a western frontier on the Mississippi that made France soon afterwards sell Louisiana to Spain in despair; Spain had to surrender Florida and Minorca, although she regained Havannah and Manilla. Complaints were made against the peace because Bute merely retained part of the numerous conquests made in Africa and the West Indies, and actually restored Pondicherri and other French settlements in India, although they were to be henceforth unfortified towns. France and Spain thirsted for revenge, and even neutral nations such as the Dutch were envious at the great extension of England's colonial markets.

George ought to have foreseen that such a peace could not last, for it left France and Spain strong enough to cause trouble when fortune should favour them. However, the King was glad to end the war, and began by bribery to build up a party in the House of Commons—known later as "The King's Friends"—which he hoped would enable him to defy any hostile leader at home. Bute was an adept at intrigue, but trouble arose over the levying of a tax on cider, and he also shrank from the unpopularity he incurred by forcing through the Peace of Paris and resigned, much to the King's disgust. However, the time was not yet ripe even for a coalition in which the Tories had control, but George persevered in a policy which soon led to most of the Tories casting off their Jacobitism, and they furnished him with a useful counterpoise to the power of the great Whig lords.

Forced to fall back upon a Whig Prime Minister, George chose Pitt's brother-in-law, Grenville, as he shared the royal dislike of war. Grenville was a narrow-minded tactless pedant whose very industry led him to commit many blunders, and George was not pleased when Grenville insisted on the admission to office of Bedford—the leader of the "Bloomsbury Gang"—the least reputable of the three factions into which the Whigs had fallen on Newcastle's resignation. For a time George endured Grenville, as king and minister both sought to punish John Wilkes, the editor of a scurrilous print called, in mockery of Bute, *The North Briton*. In No. 45 of his paper Wilkes had fiercely attacked the reference to the Peace of Paris in the King's Speech, and he was arrested, with doubtful legality, on a general warrant—that is, on a charge not brought against him by name. The private character of Wilkes was as unsavoury as the relentless persecution to which he was now subjected. When the Government failed on the charge of libel, since as an M.P. Wilkes could only be arrested for treason, felony, or breach of the peace, they prosecuted him for libelling Bishop Warburton, whose name had been borrowed by Wilkes as the author of the notes to an obscene set of verses for private circulation, which were a parody of Pope's *Essay on Man*. Wilkes had been betrayed by an equally profligate boon companion, the Earl of Sandwich; he was now forced by a tool of the Court to fight a duel in which he was wounded, and as he fled to France before the trial of the libel action he was outlawed as a fugitive from justice.

Meanwhile Grenville, appalled at the cost of the recent war and of the upkeep of the army and navy, induced Parliament to impose a Stamp Act in 1765, under which certain legal documents used in America should be liable to bear a stamp. The revenue thus accruing was to contribute to the upkeep of the American garrison, since after due warning the colonists had appeared to be unable or unwilling to shoulder the burden by taxing themselves. The minister had unwittingly forced an issue he had not realized, but before the news of the American denial of the legality of the Stamp Act reached England George had dismissed Grenville. The two men were of natures too similar to work together, but the minister's rudeness and long harangues to the King were not more resented than his tactless omission of the name of the Dowager Princess of Wales when George's illness rendered it expedient to pass a Regency Bill.

Pitt refused the King's terms. George had to fall back upon the hated "Old Whigs," the third faction, composed mainly of Newcastle's old followers, but now led by the incorruptible and decorous but extremely irritating Marquis of Rockingham. His secretary was the famous Irishman Edmund Burke, whose undoubted literary ability and gifts of philosophic statesmanship were out of place in the House of Commons. As a speaker Burke failed, and won the name of the "dinner-bell" from the celerity with which his speeches emptied the House of Commons. At first Rockingham had little influence among his noble colleagues, and to increase his troubles George had forced him to accept as ministers several King's Friends. When Rockingham insisted on the repeal of the Stamp Act and showed sympathy with Wilkes, George determined to get rid of him. Rather foolishly Rockingham had passed a Declaratory Act insisting on the right of the British Parliament to tax the colonies although it repealed the Stamp Act. He did not wholly please the Americans, though they intended to disregard the claim as a mere naked form, and he gave his rivals an excuse at the same time. Pitt had refused to join the ministry, and as he shared the King's hatred of the Old Whigs and for party government generally, though for different reasons, he listened to the King's proposals and agreed to replace Rockingham as premier. The latter, in a minority in Parliament, had to resign.

The second administration of Pitt was a wretched failure.

During the Seven Years War his brilliant gifts as a war minister had full scope, but as a civil administrator in times of peace Pitt would never have shone. He had no power of detail and never got on well with his equals. Now he had to accept colleagues suggested by the King, since he had himself no majority in the House of Commons, and his own health was so bad that he only held the nominal post of Lord Privy Seal. To make things worse, Pitt, unwarned by the unpopularity incurred on the former occasion by his acceptance of a pension and a peerage for his wife, forfeited his proud title of the "Great Commoner" and went to the House of Lords as Earl of Chatham. Just before the cloud of depression settled over his splendid intellect Chatham outlined schemes worthy even of himself: Ireland was to receive sympathetic treatment; India was to be transferred to the Crown, and a great Northern Alliance was to be built up by which England, Russia, and Prussia should check the threatening Family Compact of France and Spain. Then Chatham fell ill, and after many months of maddening imbecility he formally resigned from the ministry whose nominal premier, Grafton, was useless for his task.

Meanwhile the ministry's actions agreed well with Edmund Burke's description of it; it was indeed "a piece of mosaic—a tessellated pavement without cement, patriots and courtiers, king's friends and republicans, Whigs and Tories—unsafe to touch and unsure to stand on." The King's Friends might have grudged obedience even to Chatham, but in his absence they were unchecked. The wretched Wilkes case was revived by the imprisonment of that dubious hero on his daring return from exile; and when the freeholders of Middlesex repeatedly elected him as their member the county was practically disfranchised by a decision of the House of Commons, which awarded the seat to his defeated rival Colonel Luttrell, as the only legal candidate, and Wilkes became in popular opinion a martyr for liberty. The worst folly of all, however, was the excessive cleverness of Charles Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He imposed taxes on tea, glass, paper, and painters' colours by the American Import Duties Bill, expecting that on such essential articles the colonists must pay the duty. Had the tax been collected as an *export* duty at the English port the money would probably have been forthcoming, but the colonists saw in the scheme an attempt to circumvent their resistance, and defiantly

refused to pay the taxes. The ministry was no more popular at home, and the letters of "Junius," probably the pseudonym of Sir Philip Francis, and Burke's *Thoughts of the Cause of the Present Discontents* were full of fierce and effective criticism of the incompetent government. In 1770 Grafton resigned in despair, and George seized the opportunity to replace him by the Tory Lord North, who had become Chancellor of the Exchequer on Townshend's death.

North's accession to power marked the triumph of George III and the new Toryism. For sixty years the Whigs had effectively controlled the monarchy by the Cabinet system, according to which the leader of the predominant party in the House of Commons—it was matterless how he kept his majority—was master alike of the King and his colleagues. Now George III proposed to introduce the Departmental System: a Prime Minister there might be still in name, but his power over his colleagues was inferior to that of the King, to whom each minister was responsible for the administration of his department. The King always insisted that he was "a Whig of the Revolution," and he proposed faithfully to copy the Whig practices at least by purchasing a majority in the House of Commons. The revived Tory Party, now led by North, were only too pleased to support George in all he did; "The King's Friends" were hardly needed to secure a majority in the face of the broken and disjointed Whig Party. It remained to be seen, however, if the King, who had so cleverly brought about their downfall, could display sufficient ability to retain his power by successful administration.

Had George been content to accept the advice of the able and kindly Lord North, he would probably have enjoyed an increasing share of power. At first the new system was not unpopular, for the country was tired of the Whig corruption, which was not redeemed by ability as in former days, and North managed the Commons with great cleverness. Unfortunately the King's intelligence was not equal to his good will, and North's political principles as well as his loyalty to his master allowed George to interfere disastrously both in home and foreign affairs. The King, who could stint his own personal comforts to find the means of bribing members, showed no mercy and no shame in punishing relentlessly any subject, noble or commoner, who dared to oppose his will. Bribery is an unsatisfactory means of government even for a genius like

that of Walpole, and the time came when the King's failures could not be condoned by the House of Commons, however great the bribe. Against rebellious colonists and hostile European Powers George had no available weapon, for he could not choose men fit for command in war. Chatham, now recovered from his illness, wasted his energies when he advocated parliamentary reform to a House of Commons that loved to be bribed and cared nothing for the danger which threatened the kingdom when power was in such incompetent hands as those of George. The Whigs, cured of corruption by their defeat at the hands of George, listened to Edmund Burke and Charles James Fox, son of that past master of the art Henry Fox, and demanded that the King should be deprived of the disposal of those useless pensions and places with which he buttressed his power. However, they were still for the most part as selfish and jealous of each other as before, and George's downfall came not from an act of theirs, but from the result of his own incompetence. Like the other royal would-be autocrat Charles I, he was ruined by an unsuccessful war in which the American colonists played the part of the Scots.

The American War of Independence was not caused by the Stamp Act or the Import Duties Bill already referred to; these were but the final incidents that raised up for instant solution a far more important question. The various states which now form the American Union had been founded at various times since the Virginia Company had received its charter from James I in 1606. Virginia and the Carolinas had been colonized largely by Anglicans, but the Northern States, generally known as New England, were Puritan in origin, and had been settled almost exclusively by the Pilgrim Fathers, who in the *Mayflower* and other less famous ships began the great religious emigration of 1620 and the succeeding years before the Great Rebellion. The Middle States were of a mixed origin. Maryland was settled by Roman Catholics and Pennsylvania by Quakers later in the seventeenth century, while New York and the neighbouring states of Delaware and New Jersey had been conquered from the Dutch in 1664. The part played by the New England States in the Great Rebellion determined Charles II to tighten the royal authority over them, and the prevailing mercantilist doctrines were all in favour of the various statutes in restraint of trade passed after the Restoration and as late as the reign of William III. Hence-

forth, legally the separate colonies could have no commercial relations with any foreign state save through Great Britain as intermediary, and Act after Act was passed "enumerating" certain of their leading exports which could only be sent to England. As late as 1750 the simplest kinds of iron manufacture were forbidden.

However, the regulations were systematically broken, and the great ports, such as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia flourished by almost open smuggling. George III and Grenville attempted to apply more strictly the statutes in restraint of trade, and this was resented by the colonial merchants, who even under the former lax state of affairs were constantly in debt to England, as they could only export raw materials. The policy of the Stamp Act and the later American Import Duties Bill of Townshend appeared to be gratuitous aggravations of a system that was already beginning to be felt irksome, although England treated her colonies far better than any other country and gave them valuable preferences in the home market. It was unfortunate that an attempt to provide an episcopal system in the colonies was resented by the fiery New Englanders as a scheme to interfere with their religious liberty, and moreover, as Adam Smith pointed out, the old colonial system offered no outlet in the Imperial service for the energies of the ambitious colonial politician. Franklin was only one among many colonials who were turned from ardent "Imperialists" into bitter enemies of the English connection by slights experienced in England.

When Lord North came into office he attempted to appease the angry colonists by withdrawing all the obnoxious taxes save a threepenny duty on tea. However, this was considered by both sides as an attempt to vindicate the disputed right of the home government to tax the colonies, and men who began by maintaining that they opposed the Stamp Act as an unwarranted claim to interfere in the internal affairs of the colonies over the heads of their local legislatures soon came to attack the historic right to control their external trade by British legislation. The agitation was redoubled, revenue officers were interfered with, and it soon became clear that George must either impose his will by an overwhelming force or surrender to the colonies on all points. Perhaps a frank abandonment of the old colonial system in favour of a more equitable alliance of two branches of the same people would have been best; but the famous

"Boston Tea-party" ruined all hope of agreement. North had cleverly allowed the East India Company to send tea ships to Boston to tempt the colonials with a cheaper and more tempting brand of tea than the unsatisfactory smuggled article generally in use. Perhaps he would have succeeded had not a band of New England extremists, disguised as Mohawk Indians, forcibly emptied the tea into Boston harbour. Washington and Chatham, though horrified at this reckless outbreak, still hoped for peace, but the "Intolerable Acts" which George forced through Parliament rendered peace hopeless. The port of Boston was closed and its trade ruined by the transference of the custom-house to Salem; worse still, the charter of Massachusetts was revoked, and an unsympathetic soldier, General Gage, was sent with a strong army to Boston with power to send dangerous persons to England for trial. Many colonies protested against the revocation of a colonial charter, and this action of the King made them tremble for their own liberties.

Delegates from twelve of the thirteen colonies met at Philadelphia to organize a joint opposition to the King. In England, Burke and Chatham pleaded for conciliation before it was too late, and at last even North, in February 1775, made a small concession: if any colony would contribute to the expenses of the Imperial Government the claim to tax would not be enforced in its case. Unfortunately, war was too near for this to be effective. The Massachusetts Assembly had defied Gage and collected military stores and armed volunteers—"minute men," as they were called from their assumed readiness to fight. When Gage sent troops to destroy their magazine at Concord, near Boston, they were ambushed on their return at Lexington by the "embattled farmers," and only fought their way through with loss. Soon afterwards the colonial militia seized Breed's Hill, overlooking Boston, in mistake for the stronger Bunker's Hill; they were only expelled with such difficulty that they conceived for the English troops a wholly unjustifiable contempt, which had a considerable effect in making the rebellion a certainty.

The Philadelphia Congress now formally appointed George Washington commander. No better choice could have been made, for his appointment rallied the moderates to the revolution. Washington, although a firm believer in the principle of "no taxation without representation," the rebels' watchword, had striven hard for peace, and, like most Virginians, had no

sympathy with the eagerness of the New Englanders to rebel. It was only when George refused the "olive branch" petition and demanded absolute obedience that Washington sadly but sternly determined to resist. However, he was badly supported by the Congress, and with difficulty raised either men or supplies. Discipline was bad, and only the incompetence of the English commanders and the distance from England of the seat of war made any hope of success possible. Washington cleverly forced Gage to evacuate Boston, and on July 4, 1776, the Congress, now claiming to represent the thirteen colonies, declared that they renounced allegiance to King George. The famous Declaration of Independence was in parts an incoherent screech, and even in its published form was a considerably modified version of the original heroics of Jefferson its author.

Scarcely had independence been declared than Washington was beaten at Brooklyn, and New York, never very zealous for the cause, remained in English control till 1783. Next year even Philadelphia was lost, and the Congress fled. Recognizing that New England alone was irreconcilable, the English Government proposed to cut it off from the other colonies by holding the line of the Hudson. However, Clinton, who was to have marched up the Hudson valley, failed to receive instructions in time owing to the mismanagement of Lord George Germaine, the Colonial Minister, and Burgoyne, who fought his way down from Canada, was surrounded and captured at Saratoga in October 1777. The French had already sought to avenge the loss of Canada by sending help secretly, and now they, and later Spain, openly aided the rebels and, thanks to the persuasion of Benjamin Franklin at Paris, they henceforth supplied the colonists with men and money. A French army landed in Rhode Island, and a French fleet for a time even became master of the Atlantic seaboard. Later on, Holland joined them, and Russia and Prussia formed "The Armed Neutrality" to resist England's claim to search neutral ships for hostile goods.

Englishmen now began to call on the dying Chatham once more to save his country. His scheme was to work for a compromise with the colonists, and to attack vigorously the hostile states of Europe. It is true that England's sea-power was by no means unchallenged, but this policy promised better than George's bitter hatred of the Americans or Richmond's

craven proposal to acknowledge American independence. George III, however, would not accept Chatham's demand for a free hand, and soon afterwards occurred that statesman's last appearance in the House of Lords. He was protesting against Richmond's motion for the "dismemberment of this most ancient and most noble monarchy" when he fell back in a fit and died soon afterwards. He was mercifully spared the knowledge that the blunders of lesser men had destroyed most of his life's work, but even had he survived it is doubtful if he could have arranged a compromise with the colonists, at least so far as the New Englanders were concerned. France and Spain had formally recognized the independence of the United States by 1779, and by 1780 New England was safe from attack.

However, the Royalist cause was more promising esewhere. The commercial Middle States and the planters of Virginia and Carolina furnished the majority of the United Empire Loyalists—the American Tories who, probably one-third of the whole population, still clung to the Imperial connection and were by no means all officials or dependents of the English Government. The war was prosecuted more vigorously now, and a gleam of hope appeared when George for once found a really able general in Lord Cornwallis. This skilful commander landed a force by sea in the Carolinas, and defeated the colonists at Camden and elsewhere. His army, however, was small in comparison with the huge area of operations, and the Loyalists were of little use. His success was all but repeated in the north, for Benedict Arnold, one of the American generals, offered to betray the Hudson forts to the English; unfortunately the negotiator, Major André, was caught by the Americans within their lines and hanged as a spy. Arnold did eventually desert, but the whole scheme miscarried. Soon bad news came from the south also. Cornwallis had formed the bold plan of marching north into Virginia, in the hope of crushing Washington between his own attack and that of an English force which was to march south. After preliminary success he found that the expected help did not appear, and had to fall back upon Yorktown, a Virginian seaport, where he hoped to be relieved by the English fleet. Here a fresh misfortune awaited him, for the French fleet under De Grasse had driven away the English fleet, and after a gallant defence Cornwallis, blockaded by land and sea,

was forced to surrender, October 17, 1781. American independence had now become assured, and with it also the freedom of Great Britain from the system of George III.

Meanwhile George had found his troubles at home increasing. A futile attempt to prosecute those who published the debates of Parliament led very soon to the tacit toleration of reporting, and the increased information thus rendered available as to the real state of affairs led in turn to many complaints against the royal power and the corrupt method by which it was sustained. Burke failed to carry his scheme for "Economical Reform" because the Members of Parliament flourished by the royal power to give pensions and sinecures as the reward for corrupt votes, but the failure of the King's policy both by land and sea so frightened members that early in 1780 the Whig lawyer Dunning carried by 233 to 215 his famous resolution "that the power of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." By a curious irony of fate, immediately after Dunning's motion was carried the Duke of Richmond brought in a proposal for a democratic reform of Parliament, and the London mob, led by the crazy fanatic Lord George Gordon, President of the Protestant Association, broke out into violent rioting to secure the repeal of Savile's Act of 1778 which had removed some of the more intolerable Roman Catholic disabilities. The rioting, described so vividly in Dickens' *Barnaby Rudge*, was only put down by the ruthless employment of the Royal Guards by the King's special command, and it did not incline the propertied classes to favour the cause of democracy, although outside Parliament support for Burke's proposals grew.

The war at sea had not on the whole been a success, for the odds were too great and the fleet had fallen into a low state of efficiency. Keppel had barely escaped defeat off Cape Ushant in 1778, and in 1779 began the three years' siege of Gibraltar. The fortress was partially relieved by Rodney's defeat of the Spaniards off Cape St. Vincent in 1780, and that admiral also obtained some success in the West Indies, but in 1781 the English fleet off the American coast was outnumbered, and in consequence Yorktown fell. When the news came Lord North wished to resign, but George insisted on his retention of office. Soon the fall of Minorca before the Spanish attack convinced North that he could not much longer control the House of

Commons even by corruption, and in March 1782 George had to accept the inevitable. His system had failed to inspire confidence in the nation at home or to secure victory abroad, and his failure was the more marked when he had to call the despised Rockingham Whigs to his help.

Soon after North's resignation Rodney won his great victory off Dominica by "breaking the line" of the French fleet under the Count de Grasse, and the gallant General Elliott, who for three years had defended Gibraltar, continued to beat off all attacks and finally forced the besiegers to retire in despair just after Rockingham's death. As the Americans were beginning to suspect the intentions of their European allies, Rockingham found it easy to enter upon separate negotiations with them. Home affairs, however, proved far more difficult to handle. In 1778 Ireland had been denuded of troops by the war in America, and the Protestants had willingly formed regiments of volunteers for its defence. They had other objects in view, however, chief of which was the repeal of all restrictions upon their trade and upon the freedom of their Parliament. Rockingham was informed that the Irish Parliament had accepted the Declaration of Right introduced by Grattan, the great Protestant Irish orator, and that the English Parliament was therefore requested to repeal all legislation—chiefly part of Poynings' Act of 1494 and a statute passed in the sixth year of George I—which interfered with the legislative independence of Ireland. The minister was unable to refuse, and Ireland entered upon a stormy eighteen years of semi-independence which really profited nobody, and proved highly inconvenient to Great Britain.

Having experienced the King's power of mischief, Rockingham naturally favoured Burke's new version of his "Economical Reform" Bill; £72,000 were saved by abolishing sinecures, and a drastic revision of the pension list was made. Moreover, Government contractors were forbidden to sit in the House of Commons, and by the disfranchisement of revenue officers who were said to control seventy elections the King's power over Parliament was greatly lessened. George not only had to accept this legislation, but had also to see Wilkes formally rehabilitated by the expunging from the Journals of the House of Commons of all proceedings against him. It is significant, however, that the Whigs would not accept the electoral reforms proposed by the younger Pitt, Chatham's

second son. In July 1782 Rockingham died, and George managed to replace him by Shelburne, an old follower of Chatham whom he thought more friendly to his views.

Shelburne was at once in difficulties, for Fox and Burke, the leading Whigs, resigned and the ministry was uncertain of a working majority in the Commons, where the younger Pitt, now Chancellor of the Exchequer, was leader of the party and one of its chief defenders. Fox hated Shelburne, who had the unhappy knack of making enemies by "combining profuse compliments with unreasonable suspicions." At first, however, Shelburne could only complete Rockingham's negotiations for peace. The final treaties were made at Versailles with the Americans, Spaniards, and French on September 3, 1783. The colonists obtained their independence, and generous frontiers which gave them all the Continent westward to the Mississippi and northward to the Great Lakes. Spain regained Florida and Minorca, but, thanks to Rodney's victory, England had merely to allow France the right to fortify Dunkirk and to submit to a somewhat disadvantageous exchange of conquests.

However, before the actual signing of the treaties Shelburne had quarrelled with most of his colleagues. Fox could not wait for his revenge, although perhaps a little patience would have enabled him to come to terms with Pitt and succeed Shelburne, despite the unconcealed dislike George III showed for the man he looked upon as at once the defender of Rockingham, the deserter of Shelburne, and the evil genius of the dissolute Prince of Wales. When Fox allied with North, his late opponent, to turn out Shelburne, neither the Whig nor the Tory could convince the nation that their motives were other than selfish. However, George had to accept the two allies as Secretaries of State, with the Duke of Portland as nominal Prime Minister in the Coalition Ministry, as it is called, although Fox had no compunction in supporting Pitt's demand for legislation against the remains of the royal secret influence and the corruptions of the smaller boroughs. Soon afterwards Fox gave the King the opportunity to get rid of him. He was induced partly by Burke to propose a scheme for the reorganization of the government of India which easily lent itself to misinterpretation, and at the same time offended powerful interests.

To understand Fox's India Bill we must remember that the British Government had so far assumed no direct responsibility

for the government of India, although in South India and still more in Bengal the East India Company exercised all real authority. The condition of Bengal was especially bad, for the Company's servants only sought to make their own private fortunes by engaging in trade on their own account and by exacting presents from the natives. Clive was sent back to reform abuses in 1765; he forbade private trade and the exaction of presents, and hoped that a rather inadequate increase of pay would be effective in ensuring the obedience of the officials. More important still, he persuaded the Great Mogul to grant the "dewanni" or financial administration of Bengal Province to the Company, which already possessed the zemindary, or right to collect—and generally retain—the land tax. Only the criminal jurisdiction remained to the puppet nawab, who, having no funds, could not keep order. After Clive's return matters grew so serious that in 1772 Warren Hastings was sent to Bengal as governor to put an end to disorder.

Unfortunately Hastings was not given power equal to his responsibilities. The French were tampering with the ruler of Mysore, Hyder Ali, who threatened Madras, and with the Mahratta chiefs, who were quarrelling among themselves and at the same time threatening Bombay and Bengal and Oudh. The latter state had come under English control by the defeat of its nawab at Buxar in 1764, and the Company's responsibilities had thus increased more than its resources. Clive and Hastings both wished to use Oudh as a semi-dependent buffer state against the Mahrattas, and Hastings in 1774 actually lent the nawab English troops to conquer the Afghan raiders who had seized the district of Rohilcund. Burke afterwards blamed Hastings for the atrocities committed by the nawab's troops upon the conquered, and unfortunately Hastings, in his impatience at the disorder in Bengal, strained his authority to introduce reforms which abolished the last remnants of the nawab's authority and deprived the Hindu Nuncomar of the post of native Prime Minister which he had been led to expect. To regularize the situation North passed the Regulating Act of 1773, but although it gave Hastings vague authority as Governor-General of Bengal over Bombay and Madras, it also established a council of four members to control the Governor-General, and a High Court of Justice with undefined powers. Unfortunately Sir Philip Francis—the probable writer of the

"Letters of Junius"—was a member of the council, and he arrived in India convinced that Hastings was an inefficient tyrant. He won over two other members to his cause, and persistently attempted to ruin all Hastings' plans.

Nuncomar the disappointed deceived Francis by forged evidence that Hastings had taken bribes, but before the ruin of Hastings had been effected, Nuncomar was accused of forgery and hanged by order of Sir Elijah Impey, the new Chief Justice. The forger's fate was suspiciously opportune for Hastings, and evoked comment perhaps unjust to the Governor-General, but, although the natives thought the punishment too severe for so common an offence in India, they were afraid to provide further evidence. One after another Francis and his allies disappeared from the council, which Hastings filled with more friendly members only just in time. Bombay and Madras were exposed by incompetent governors to attacks by Mahrattas and Mysoreans respectively, and Hastings had to find money to save them.

Hastings did find the money and saved India. The directors in London certainly instructed him to be just and merciful to the natives, but they also demanded dividends for their shareholders and money by which they might ensure the protection of the King's Government for their chartered rights. In later years Burke thundered against Hastings as the tyrant who bullied money from the inoffensive Cheyt Singh, Rajah of Benares, and lent English troops to the nawab to wring their wealth from the Begums or Princesses of Oudh by nameless tortures. Hastings could reply that the Rajah owed help as a feudatory who could only hope to escape plunder from the Mahrattas by English help, and that the Begums illegally held the wealth of which they were deprived. However, the real culprits were the directors and the home government, who, by their demands for money, forced Hastings to save British rule in India by methods which even stern necessity can hardly excuse. In 1781 Sir Eyre Coote defeated Hyder Ali of Mysore at Porto Novo, near Madras, and next year the Mahrattas were forced to make peace. Hyder Ali's death and the desertion of the French forced the new Mysorean ruler, Tippoo Sahib, to give up the struggle.

Two lessons had been taught by the crisis: one that the Governor-General should be directly responsible to the home Government, and the other that the governors of Madras and

Bombay should be responsible to him. Fox's India Bill proposed to transfer the control of British India from the East India Company to a board of seven commissioners named in the Bill—that is, of course, by the ministry. The King could not dismiss any commissioner for four years except at the direct request of Parliament, but afterwards he could appoint the members of the board himself. George was furious, for in common with others he saw that the Bill gave the ministry such magnificent resources for bribing Members of Parliament that at the end of four years they would be absolute masters of the King and the nation. Critics said that the Bill proposed to take the diadem from the King's head and give it to Mr. Fox. The East India Company's shareholders were largely city merchants, and they enlisted the sympathy of other chartered companies, who saw their rights threatened. George cleverly seized the opportunity, and when the Bill came before the House of Lords he sent word to that body by Lord Temple that he would look upon supporters of the Bill as his personal enemies. It was defeated in consequence, and that night the King demanded the seals of office from the ministers. Secure of their majority in the House of Commons the ministers assented, and their expectations of a speedy return to power were not lessened by the announcement that the Prime Minister was to be William Pitt.

CHAPTER V

THE YOUNGER PITT AND THE GREAT WAR

If the Coalition Ministry had been unjustifiably dismissed by the King, their fate did not excite much sympathy outside Parliament, for men knew how unscrupulously they had obtained office. However, George III did not find Pitt the complaisant tool he perhaps expected. Nominally, Pitt was a Tory and agreed that the King had a right to name his ministers, but he also pressed upon George the unpleasant reminder that such ministers must be pleasing to the constituencies. He treated with dignified scorn the numerous votes of censure carried by the Coalition's majority in the House of Commons, and Fox strengthened him by opposing any immediate appeal to the electors. The new ministry had to be formed largely from the

House of Lords at first, but Pitt's evident ability gradually won him support from the Moderates and in the country. He defied Fox to refuse supplies, and by March 1784 he had reduced the Coalition's majority to a single member. He dissolved Parliament, and 160 "Fox's Martyrs" lost their seats. Perhaps all the new members were not wholly at Pitt's disposal, but henceforth he was always sure of a majority.

Few men were more fitted for their task than this "schoolboy" premier of twenty-five. Almost alone of his contemporaries in public life he had studied Political Economy, and Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776, had been available for his reading at the University. Perhaps he was not an original genius like his father, but he had the gift of acquiring information from the best teachers and could adapt his knowledge to circumstances. He was greatest as a peace minister, and should be judged by his magnificent achievements during the eight years of peace. It was his misfortune that for many years he had to wage a war that would have taxed the ability of Chatham against the finest military genius of the age, and, unlike Chatham, he could find no Frederick the Great to assist him. It is true that his system of coalitions was but a feeble copy of his father's policy, and failed, at least for a time; but Pitt could find no one to teach him the art of war. However, he taught "England to save herself by her exertions" which only his undying optimism and wise peace administration made possible, and it was certainly due to him that England "saved Europe by her example." As an orator he was inferior to Chatham, but he was a better parliamentary leader. He could inspire affection where Chatham only aroused awe or dislike, and he managed the House of Commons without bribery. Perhaps no minister allowed Parliament more often to oppose his private desires, but he had the good sense not to desire to legislate in advance of public opinion. He was also wise enough to strengthen the aristocracy by freely admitting to the House of Lords the successful manufacturer and capitalist. Towards the King himself he always observed a proper deference not untouched by those feelings of affection which the King's better qualities justified. Whether he wholly agreed with Pitt or not, George III generally acquiesced in his plans, since for many years the only alternative was the hated Fox. Pitt's later concession to George III on the question of Roman Catholic emancipation may have been quite

as much due to his recognition of a really religious scruple as to a desire not to cause additional mental distress.

Pitt's home policy won confidence almost from the first. As a disciple of Adam Smith he showed distinct financial ability in the reduction of customs duties as a means both of encouraging trade and preventing smuggling. Many of Walpole's cherished schemes, such as the bonding system, presented little difficulty under Pitt's tactful hands. Heroic measures were not favoured by Pitt, and the India Bill which he carried through Parliament in 1784 was frankly a compromise. The Company retained practically all its patronage and so the danger of bribery was avoided, but the Governor-General and a few other important officers were to be appointed by the King. Fox's commissioners were replaced by a Board of Control, whose president had a seat in the Cabinet. The Board had power to amend any dispatch sent by the directors of the East India Company to their servants, and in case of need to act independently of the directors. In all other matters the Company was left in full control. Pitt's settlement was so satisfactory that the system of dual control lasted until after the Mutiny. Actually, the Company were quietly relieved of their impossible task of governing India, and their trade monopoly gradually melted away. Hastings could have worked the new system successfully, for there was now to be one authority only in the peninsula, but Pitt, after anxious thought, reluctantly decided that he could not support him. In 1785 he was replaced by the able Cornwallis and returned to face impeachment and the fiery attacks of Burke and Sheridan. For seven years the trial dragged on, but Hastings emerged acquitted though all but bankrupt. George III, wiser than many, had steadfastly championed the accused throughout, but the price paid by Hastings was the introduction of principles he would have desired into the government of the land he had saved from ruin. Henceforth England freely acknowledged that she had duties towards India.

Even Pitt's failures did him honour. Twice before he had tried to reform the representation of the people in the House of Commons, and now as premier he made a third attempt. He proposed that the nation should buy from the borough owners the seventy-two seats which they controlled; when the owners raised unreasonable difficulties Pitt calmly abandoned the scheme, but rendered their rights of little value by stead-

fastly refusing to bribe. Backed by the King and the nation, he did not need the boroughmongers. Another of his schemes was the redemption of the National Debt by a sinking fund. Part of the revenue was to be set aside yearly to buy consols in the open market; when they had been thus redeemed the interest they bore need be no longer paid. Unfortunately, when the war came money was borrowed at a high rate of interest and used to extinguish the lower rate of interest paid by consols. It was many years before this ruinous system was abandoned, but Pitt's intentions at least were good, for the scheme and its failure were part of his plan to strengthen the national credit. Perhaps Pitt's noblest failure was his proposed commercial treaty with Ireland in 1785. In return for complete free trade, Ireland was to contribute to the cost of the navy which protected that trade. However, the selfishness of the English merchants and the suspicions of the Irish Parliament ruined the scheme. Much more successful was Pitt's proposal the following year that there should be a reciprocity or reduction of duties between England and France, but the outbreak of the French Revolution a few years later ruined the promised increase of trade.

The King's health was not good, and at the end of 1788 he had mental trouble worse than that of 1765. It was fortunate for him that better ideas for the treatment of such cases were beginning to prevail, and by the able and kind treatment of Dr. Willis he for a time steadily improved. However, it was necessary to pass a Regency Bill as before, and Fox foolishly demanded that his friend the Prince Regent should be appointed with unrestricted powers. Pitt had no difficulty in "unwhigging" his Whig opponent for such a proposal, but he was noble enough not to demand security for himself. The Bill allowed the Regent to make peers and bestow official appointments, but on the King's restoration to health they were to be confirmed by him. Probably Fox counted upon succeeding to Pitt's position, but the King recovered his health after a few months, and the whole nation rejoiced with him when he made a public thanksgiving at St. Paul's. Now he was identified with Pitt's good government, while Fox shared the unpopularity of his ally the worthless Prince of Wales.

With the King's recovery Pitt had every prospect of a long and successful ministry. He, like his father, possessed the

confidence of the great middle class of the towns, and the new class of wealthy industrial magnates that began to appear looked to him for support in their claim to a share of power which they knew would be contemptuously denied to them were the Whig aristocrats to regain office. The minister amply repaid their confidence by his sympathetic understanding of their wants and cleverly rewarded them, and at the same time weakened his rivals by bestowing peerages with a lavish hand on the more successful manufacturers. Pitt would never have offended them by too violent reforms or by extreme democratic legislation, but he would certainly have abolished the worst abuses of the old system and appeased by moderate reforms the less extreme critics, had not the outbreak of the Revolution in France called a halt in all reform elsewhere and forced even Pitt into a violent reaction.

For many centuries the government of France had been an absolute monarchy ; the States-General, at the best only a poor shadow of the English Parliament, had not met since 1614, and the nobles and clergy, the King's only possible rivals, had gradually been deprived of all power. Unfortunately, they had been allowed to retain various unpopular privileges, such as comparative immunity from taxation, at the expense of the rest of the community. The nobles possessed traditional feudal rights over their peasantry, of which the monetary value was in inverse proportion to the irritation they caused to their victims. Serfdom was extinct in all but name, and yet the peasant could only sell his land on buying permission from his seigneur, and it is said that 82 per cent. of his income went in taxes of various kinds. The State forced him to perform the *corvée*, or statutory labour on the main highway, while his own local roads were neglected. It exacted an iniquitous *gabelle*, or salt-tax, and also the *taille*, which was a most unjustly assessed property tax. Formerly the peasant had been guaranteed at least tolerable government, but the long wars of Louis XIV and Louis XV, the wicked extravagances of those kings and the wild financial schemes of the reign of Louis XVI had resulted in national bankruptcy. In their own interests the kings had chosen as administrators not nobles, but men of the third estate, or *tiers état*. Thus out of the middle classes had arisen a *noblesse de robe*, or nobility of service, with its own special privileges, but the middle classes generally, outside the favoured few, suffered from the prevailing

system of government as well as the peasantry. Industry was strangled by an antiquated customs system and the powers of the guilds, and when reformers such as Turgot attempted to improve the condition of affairs they were immediately driven from power by the strength of the vested interests.

However, bad as were the conditions of France, there were many people educated enough to realize the cause of the evils, while others were sufficiently prosperous to feel the galling of their remaining chains. Great writers and thinkers had done their work in the eighteenth century. Montesquieu, in his *L'Esprit des Lois*, had praised the advantages of the English system of a limited monarchy, while Voltaire and his fellow encyclopædists had by their writings undermined men's confidence in the social and religious as well as the political traditions of the France of their day. The encyclopædists asked that all beliefs and institutions should be tested by their agreement with the verdict of human reason, which was to be the supreme judge of all things. Unfortunately, there was little in the lives and conduct of the social, political, or religious leaders of France that would stand so severe a test. Social institutions were outworn; political institutions had broken down and, worst of all, many of the religious leaders showed by their own conduct that they had ceased to believe the creed they preached. Rousseau offered men instead his social theory of the state of nature when men had as few laws as possible and his political theory of the "Social Contract"—that in the beginning men made kings to increase their enjoyment of happiness, and that therefore if the king misgoverned he could be called to account and replaced by a better. Frenchmen who had felt the oppression of bad laws heard gladly that all men were by nature free and equal and that most laws were unnecessary, and, knowing good kings only by vague tradition, gladly learnt that they had the right to replace an evil king. However, the French Revolution was largely the work of the middle classes, who were tired of their exploitation by kings and nobles, and were determined to use the necessities of their enemies as their own opportunity to obtain better conditions. It is pathetic to observe the self-confidence with which a nation utterly inexperienced in self-government set out to re-make all its institutions on a basis of extreme democracy and a wholly unwarranted belief in the sufficiency of human reason and in the perfection of mankind.

At first all went well. The States-General met on May 5, 1789, and, amidst general acclamation, most of the existing institutions were swept away in favour of an extremely democratic constitution based on the famous "Declaration of the Rights of Man." Louis XVI was well-meaning but inefficient, and he managed to arouse the suspicions of a considerable section of his subjects by an attempted flight from Versailles towards the eastern frontier. It was suspected that he desired to join the discontented nobles—known as the *émigrés*—who had fled across the Rhine and were appealing to Prussia and Austria to rescue the King from his revolted subjects and to restore the old condition of affairs. Austria, Prussia, and Russia were busy partitioning among themselves the unfortunate anarchical state of Poland, and were too jealous of one another to give any real attention to the threatening situation in France. However, Marie Antoinette, Queen of France, was the daughter of Maria Theresa, the famous Austrian empress-queen, and the Emperor Leopold II was her brother. He was a cautious man, and really desirous of avoiding war if he could help Louis XVI otherwise. In his flight Louis XVI had been stopped at Varennes near the frontier, and brought back to Paris a prisoner, on June 21, 1791, but though suspected he was nominally restored to his throne—now more unstable than ever—when the new constitution was proclaimed a few months later. Unfortunately Mirabeau, the only possible saviour of France, who wished well both to king and country, had died just before the flight to Varennes, and the Girondists, who controlled the Legislative Assembly that met in October 1791, were a body of inexperienced if well-intentioned theorists who were soon in difficulties both with the King and with foreign states. When the King ventured to oppose some of their more unreasonable measures they began to agitate for a republic; and the threatening attitude of the *émigrés* on the frontier led them, quite wrongly, to imagine that the Emperor Leopold meant to intervene by force. In consequence, they compelled Louis to declare war on Austria.

It was a great misfortune to Europe that the able and cautious Leopold died just after concluding a treaty with Prussia for joint action. His son Francis II was far less capable, but when the French poured into Belgium—then known as the Austrian Netherlands and thought to be

seething with rebellion — they met with misfortune. The army was badly equipped, and officers and men lacked confidence in each other. When France was invaded in turn by the Allies the cry of "treachery" was raised, and the Jacobins—the extreme republican rivals of the Girondins—used it to overthrow both the Girondist Party and the monarchy. Louis XVI was imprisoned, and the "September Massacres" of political prisoners by the Jacobin leader Danton and his friends horrified Europe. A National Convention was henceforth in theory to govern France, but all power quickly fell into the hands of the "Committee of Public Safety," where Robespierre, an advocate of Arras, soon gained complete power and began the Red Terror. All aristocrats and suspected persons were guillotined, often without even a nominal trial. On September 20, 1792, the republican army made a successful stand against the Prussian "cannonade of Valmy," and as the enemy retreated the French army exultantly followed. By November 6 the French had beaten the Austrians at Jemappes, and soon the Austrian Netherlands were in their possession. Mainz was next seized, and Germany itself threatened. The Convention offered to help any nation to overthrow its rulers, and ordered its generals not only to force men to be free, but also to take possession of the goods and wealth of all enemies. When the French Government proceeded to throw open the Scheldt to commerce, despite treaties, and threatened the Dutch with war, Pitt remonstrated. On January 21, 1793, Louis XVI was guillotined; and now there was no alternative but war for England.

At first Pitt had shared some of the enthusiasm of Fox at the establishment of freedom in France, and poets such as Southey and Wordsworth had greeted the new conditions with rapture. Burke, however, remained unconcerned and desired that England should assist Austria and Prussia. Not until the news of the "September Massacres" reached England did Pitt waver, and even down to the execution of the King he hoped for peace. When, early in 1793, the allied Austrians and Prussians drove back the French into France, an English force under the Duke of York joined them. The defeat of the republicans in Flanders led to the rising of the Catholic Royalists of La Vendée in the west and to insurrections at Lyons and Toulon. The Jacobins used their troubles as an excuse to execute their Girondist rivals, and called for a *levée*

en masse of the nation's youth. Throughout the summer of 1793 the "Reign of Terror" was at its height. The insurrection of La Vendée and at Lyons was drowned in blood, and even Toulon, despite help from the English fleet, finally capitulated, thanks largely to the skill of young Napoleon Bonaparte.

Soon the French, under new leaders, had cleared France of the enemy and had once more swarmed victoriously over the frontier. As the humblest citizen might, if able, aspire to the highest posts of the army or the State, France found no lack of able officials or generals. The new armies ruthlessly plundered the conquered lands, urged on by the lust of gain quite as much as by their enthusiasm for the new gospel of equality. They met with no active resistance, for the people of those lands looked upon war as the affair of their governments. However, the Austrians and Prussians were busy quarrelling with each other and had no real wish to restore the Bourbons to power. Russia was too far off to interfere at first, even if she had not the task of keeping down her victims in Poland, of which she got the lion's share in the Final Partition of 1795. The internal condition of France meanwhile grew worse and worse, and all pretence of equality soon disappeared. Having guillotined the Girondists, the Queen, and all the aristocrats available, the Jacobins turned on each other. Danton, the best of them, fell because of his belated advocacy of mercy now that violence had saved France, while Hébert and his vile crew of atheists, with their obscene rites in the worship of the Goddess of Reason, were more than even the blood-stained Robespierre, chief of the Terrorists, could endure. Robespierre guillotined the Hébertists, but the cult of the Supreme Being with which he proposed to replace Christianity was scarcely more popular, and the Moderates and surviving Dantonists combined against him, and he followed Danton and Hébert to the scaffold after a vain attempt at suicide. His former ally in the Terror, Marat, had some time before been stabbed by the Norman girl, Charlotte Corday.

Pitt was horrified at these scenes of violence, and became a convert to Burke's views. He grew to hate the French republican system bitterly, but for a time he did not realize the true nature of the struggle. The Whig Party went to pieces on the question. Burke, in his *Reflections on the French Revolution*,

published in 1790, insisted on the essential difference between the conservative English Revolution of 1688 and the wild, ill-considered reforms of the French Revolution. He carried many with him, and Fox's Libel Act passed in 1792 was the last reforming measure for many years. This Act allowed the jury to decide not only if a publication had been made, but also if the contents of the publication were in fact a libel. However, the majority in Parliament steadily refused to pass any legislation in favour of the Dissenters or to reform the franchise in the smallest degree. Pitt insisted that the time was unsuitable, and except in a few of the new towns in the north the country generally agreed with him. Societies were formed to work for reform, but the slightest sign of sympathy for the French propaganda was visited with heavy punishment by the judges, and in 1793 two stringent Acts were passed. The Aliens Act gave the Government full control of suspected aliens, and when war broke out the Traitorous Correspondence Act followed. The majority of the Whigs, headed by the Duke of Portland, formally joined Pitt in 1794, and the Duke, together with Windham and Fitzwilliam, entered the ministry. Fox and Grey (the future Earl Grey of the Reform Bill era) argued in vain that the best way to guard against revolution was to pass the necessary reforms. They became of little importance, and for a time even ceased to attend Parliament. Deprived of healthy criticism, the Government perhaps went too far at times in repression, but when the danger of invasion was lessened by Lord Howe's victory off Ushant on the "Glorious First of June," 1794, juries became less unreasonable and acquitted Hardy Thelwall and the more famous Horne Tooke, who had been accused of treason. On a similar charge in the previous year Muir and Palmer had been sentenced to a long term of transportation.

Though defeated at sea by Lord Howe, the French in 1794 had gained the whole of the Austrian Netherlands by their victory at Fleurus, and even when the execution of Robespierre marked a return to moderation at home their arms were not less successful abroad: early in 1795 Pichegru overran Holland and set up the Batavian Republic, while Prussia, followed by a less important enemy, Spain, made peace with the French Convention at Basel. Pitt still continued the war and allowed French *émigrés* to persuade him to send a fruitless expedition to Quiberon Bay, in Catholic Brittany. He was even unwilling

to make peace with the new French Government, called the Directory, which came into power in October 1795, although the constitution, with its two-chambered legislature and an executive of five Directors, evidently pointed to a return to saner political ideas. The heavy war-taxation caused such discontent in England that the King was hooted by a mob which was demonstrating in favour of peace. Pitt's answer was the Treasonable Practices Act and the Seditious Meetings Bill; the Habeas Corpus Act had already been suspended early in the year, and for eight years remained inoperative. Pitt had gone too far; he realized that he could not enforce such legislation, and he at least could not wholly sympathize with the doctrine of a Tory bishop that "the people had nothing to do with the laws, but obey them."

Pitt had troubles also in Ireland. His proposed commercial union of 1785 was only part of a larger scheme of conciliation, but unfortunately the so-called "Grattan's Parliament" at Dublin did not fairly represent even the Protestant fourth of the population; two-thirds of its three hundred members were the nominees of less than a hundred boroughmongers. The Irish Executive Ministers were responsible to the Lord-Lieutenant and not to the Irish Parliament, and the consequence of this system was that the Lord-Lieutenant had to resort to the grossest forms of corruption when there seemed to be any chance of the Irish members resenting their helplessness on important matters; in less important affairs the tendency was to give a free hand to the majority for the time being. The difficulty of reform was increased by the fact that only members of the Established Irish Church were even nominally electors; Presbyterians, who formed an important and prosperous section of the Ulster population, were disfranchised as completely as Roman Catholics. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Penal Laws had either become obsolete or had been formally abolished, and it was comparatively easy in 1791 for Wolfe Tone, himself an Ulster Presbyterian who had been strongly influenced by the French revolutionary ideas, to form the Society of United Irishmen, in which Protestants and Romanists could alike work for the widening of the franchise and the abolition of religious disabilities.

The society was not professedly republican, and in 1793 Pitt so far recognized the justice of some at least of its demands that he secured the abolition of certain of the penal

statutes and agreed to the parliamentary franchise for the Irish Roman Catholics. Further the Irish Parliament refused to go, despite the shrewd observation of one of the ruling caste "that the Irish Protestant can never be free so long as the Irish Catholic remains a slave." Grattan's eloquence was vain, even when backed by Pitt, in the demand for full equality for Roman Catholics, and soon Orange lodges, representative of the extremest Protestant bigotry, were formed to retaliate on Roman Catholics for outrages committed by maddened extremists. It is impossible to declare either side wholly to blame, but when the Government supported the Orangemen, the United Irishmen championed the Roman Catholics and sent Wolfe Tone to Paris in 1796. The French had offered help to all nations who would rebel against their kings, and Tone now proposed to form an Irish Republic.

For the next ten years, until Nelson finally ruined the French sea-power at Trafalgar, England lived in constant dread of an attack either on England or Ireland, where the invaders would find many friends. Pitt had sent the Whig Fitzwilliam as Viceroy to Ireland in 1794, but it is clear that there was a complete misunderstanding between them as to his powers. Fitzwilliam pleased the Roman Catholics by dismissing the worst of their oppressors and by demanding emancipation. The dispossessed promptly aroused the King's religious scruples as to concessions to Roman Catholics, and Pitt himself was too uncertain of his own views to support Fitzwilliam against the clamour of the English Parliament. The Viceroy was recalled, and in consequence the Irish Roman Catholics were most bitter against those who seemed to have betrayed them. The Irish grievances, even when outwardly religious, as in the case of tithes, were really economic. The lower classes mostly lived on the land, and rack rents were so high that even had they been the most thrifty and industrious people possible they would have been hard pressed to make a living. The landlords received only a scanty return, and even when resident were in any case too poor themselves to develop their estates. The high rents the peasantry paid mostly went to middlemen, and only the existence of a low standard of comfort, content with the potato as a staple food, made the system possible. Such a peasantry had all to gain and nothing to lose by the revolution which they hoped would result by French aid.

On land the French were everywhere victorious. Napoleon Bonaparte, perhaps the finest military genius of the time, had been sent by the Directory to Italy early in 1796. Before the year was out he had utterly crushed the Sardinians, and left the Austrians with only one fortress, Mantua, which fell early the following year. However, at sea the French were less successful. The Directory had treated Pitt's proposals for peace with contempt, and sent General Hoche, Bonaparte's rival, with a large fleet and army to Ireland in December 1796. A storm ruined French hopes of a successful landing, but the expenses of the war and lavish subsidies to insolvent allies, especially Austria, brought about the suspension of cash payments by the Bank of England early in 1797. During the rest of the war, and for several years afterwards, Bank of England notes passed freely as currency, for men had confidence in the resources and ultimate triumph of the nation. Englishmen did not lose hope even when they were threatened with an invasion by the French fleet, which was to be strengthened by the fleets of Spain and the "Batavian Republic," now humble clients of France.

It was well for England that Sir John Jervis, in February 1797, destroyed the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent before it could join the French fleet. The latter was supposed to be watched by the English fleet under Lord Bridport at Spithead, and Admiral Duncan, stationed off Texel, was ordered to prevent the Dutch from convoying an army to Ireland if the French and Spanish fleets held Bridport in check. But for the victory off Cape St. Vincent the French plan would doubtless have succeeded, as the English fleets at Spithead and off the Nore successively mutinied. The sailors certainly had grievances, for despite the rise in the price of food their pay had not been increased for a hundred years, and discipline was maintained by cruel floggings. With some difficulty the popular Admiral Howe persuaded the sailors at Spithead to return to duty on receiving concessions, but the Nore mutiny was more serious. In addition to the redress of grievances the sailors demanded the right to elect their own officers and to vote for or against proposed attacks even in the presence of a hostile fleet; but Parker, the leader of the mutineers, finally disgusted even his own supporters, who returned to duty. Parker was hanged and other ringleaders imprisoned.

When the mutinies had been suppressed Pitt again nego-

tiated for peace, but the Directory demanded that England should restore all her conquests, including Trinidad to Spain and the Cape and Ceylon to the Dutch, while France retained her conquests. Pitt naturally refused, and soon afterwards Duncan defeated the Dutch fleet at Camperdown. He had nobly earned his triumph, for during the mutiny he had continued the blockade with only two ships, by cleverly deluding the Dutch into the belief that the rest of the fleet were within signalling distance. A week later Bonaparte forced the Austrians to sacrifice the Netherlands and Lombardy by the Treaty of Campo Formio, October 17, 1797. He formed his Italian conquests into a French dependency styled the Cis-Alpine Republic, and he won Austria's shameful acquiescence by allowing her to despoil the Venetian Republic. France was as supreme on land as England was by sea.

The romantic strain in Bonaparte, and perhaps a certain shrewdness as to the best source of glory, led him to refuse the suggested task of invading England. Instead, he proposed to revive Dupleix' dreams of a French Indian Empire, and to conquer Egypt and the East on his way. The Mahrattas still chafed under England's prohibition of raiding, while in Mysore Tippoo Sahib, strangely greeted by the French as Citizen Tippoo, was ready to welcome French help to despoil his neighbours. Lord Cornwallis, the successor of Hastings, had been compelled to deprive Tippoo of half his territory on account of his lawless attacks on the Nizam of Hyderabad, and Bonaparte would find in the Sultan of Mysore a useful ally. However, the French army never reached India, although French agents and adventurers were busy preparing the way. At the end of May 1798 Bonaparte embarked a splendid army and fleet at Toulon, and safely reached Alexandria after despoiling the Knights of St. John of Malta. He soon defeated the Mamelukes, or Turkish cavalry, who in theory held Egypt for the Sultan, at the battle of the Pyramids, near Cairo; but his fleet, drawn up in a line in Aboukir Bay, was cut in two halves by Nelson, and each section, caught between two fires, was ruined in detail, August 1, 1798. Bonaparte, however, did not despair. A few months later he wrote to Tippoo Sahib promising immediate assistance, but by May 1799 Lord Mornington, now governor-general, the elder brother of the more famous Wellington, had sent an army which had captured Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, and slain Tippoo,

who was replaced by a descendant of the old Hindu rulers.

Even before Tippoo's fall Napoleon had abandoned his grandiose schemes. Early in 1799 he marched into Syria and defeated the Turks, but he was unable to capture Acre, where the soul of the defence was the English commodore, Sir Sidney Smith. Napoleon always said that Smith made him miss his destiny, for he had to fall back on Egypt. Here he received a bundle of European newspapers from his late adversary, and the contents affected him so greatly that he abandoned his army and returned to France. He learnt that Pitt had formed a fresh coalition with Austria and Russia, and that the French had been driven in rout from Germany and North Italy. The only gleam of brightness was Massena's victory over the Austrians at Zürich just before Napoleon's return, but the latter had no difficulty in persuading Frenchmen that he himself was far more fitted to control affairs than the Directory. Napoleon did not scruple to use force against his late masters, and the French people, who were tired of incompetence and disorder, gladly allowed him to become First Consul with practically the power of a dictator under the forms of a republican constitution. Napoleon did not concern himself with the later defeat of his abandoned Egyptian army by the English at Alexandria.

Under the new system of the Consulate the French soon recovered their lost ground in Europe. The second coalition was a failure, for the mad Czar Paul of Russia, an enthusiastic admirer of Napoleon, refused to assist Austria and England against his hero. Soon the deserted Austrians were defeated at Marengo, in Italy, by Napoleon, and at Hohenlinden, in Bavaria, by his general Moreau; and in February 1801 they had to sign the peace of Lunéville, which acknowledged the Rhine as the French eastern boundary. Many people in England desired peace with Napoleon, for Pitt had recently imposed a heavy income tax, and the harvest of 1800 was so bad that the price of wheat rose even above the already high level caused by the war. The Prime Minister might have found resignation or peace the only alternatives even if the Irish question had not brought matters to a crisis.

The Protestant Party in Ireland had regained power on the failure of Fitzwilliam's policy, and had used the French expedition under Hoche as an excuse for the harshest possible

measures towards the hated and feared Roman Catholics. The militia and yeomanry, purely Protestant bodies, certainly showed great zeal in hunting out concealed arms and suspected rebels, but their outrageous violence towards many undoubtedly harmless victims cannot be defended. Abercromby, the commander-in-chief of the regular troops in Ireland, resigned in disgust at behaviour he could not check although he realized that it was demoralizing his own men, and naturally the United Irishmen, now largely a Roman Catholic organization, took advantage of the popular d scontent to plan a rising. In after years a patriotic song told how the Irish did not fear to speak of "'98," but at the time the secret was betrayed, and cost the life of the generous-souled, if unwise Lord Edward Fitzgerald and several others. In Wexford the peasantry rose in insurrection, though armed merely with pikes in most cases; but after they had only succeeded in throwing the Presbyterians into the arms of the Government by "atrocities" against Protestants, their camp on Vinegar Hill was stormed by the regular troops of General Lake on June 21. A few weeks later the long-expected French army arrived at Killala, in County Mayo, but too late to be of service. After driving the local forces before them in the disgraceful "Race of Castlebar," General Humbert and his 1100 men had to surrender to the regular troops on the 9th of September, and the Irish Reign of Terror re-commenced.

The new lord-lieutenant, Cornwallis, had just reached Ireland and was appalled by the attitude of the victors, who resented his kind-hearted intervention on behalf of their prey. A Bill was passed by the Irish Parliament giving a legal indemnity for the many acts of undoubted illegal violence and cruelty committed during the suppression of the rebellion, and Cornwallis decided that such a Parliament must be abolished. Pitt took his view, and sent over Lord Castlereagh, a trusted supporter, to carry through at all costs a scheme for the union of the two Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland. The consent of the frightened Roman Catholics was easily won by a promise of full emancipation from their religious disabilities. Pitt was sincere in his offer of this tardy justice, and so eager was he for the union that he allowed Castlereagh to win the consent of the Irish Parliament by the only possible way — by the most open and wholesale bribery. Despite the resistance of Grattan the Act of Union was passed in 1800;

four bishops and twenty-eight lay members of the Irish House of Peers were to represent Ireland for life in the House of Lords at Westminster, while one hundred members, elected by the counties and chief towns, were to sit in the House of Commons. The Church and the army of Ireland were formally united to those of England, although there was still to be a lord-lieutenant with separate Irish ministers and Irish Law Courts.

The two bribes Pitt had offered Ireland were unconditional free trade and Roman Catholic emancipation. The former was incorporated in the Bill, but to carry the latter into effect a separate Act was necessary. The King once more urged that by his coronation oath he could not consent, and Pitt's offer to resign resulted in a return of George's mental trouble. The Prime Minister had only the alternative of breaking his promise to the Roman Catholics or of risking the permanent insanity of a master to whom he was bound by many real ties. He wavered, but after first agreeing not to press the matter he finally decided in March 1801 that he must resign. Naturally the Irish Roman Catholics felt they had been tricked, and began to hate the union. The Protestants, realizing that since the Roman Catholics had not been enfranchised their own power was not much impaired, rallied to the union and took up their old position as the English garrison in Ireland.

On Pitt's resignation Addington, the Speaker of the House of Commons, formed a weak Tory Ministry, which made peace with Napoleon at Amiens in 1802. Nelson had destroyed the last hope of Napoleon—the Danish fleet—at Copenhagen in the previous April, and the First Consul desired a breathing space to prepare for a fresh attack on England. Even so England left him all his conquests and surrendered most of her own, except the Spanish island of Trinidad and the Dutch island of Ceylon. Malta, which England had recaptured from the French, was to go to its old owners, the Knights of St. John. Napoleon interpreted the peace as giving him a free hand on the Continent, and he proceeded to take possession of Switzerland and the Italian provinces of Piedmont and Parma. A concordat or treaty with the Pope by which Christianity was formally restored in France pleased the Roman Catholics at home, and he flattered Paul I of Russia while he encouraged Austria and Prussia to quarrel over the remains of Germany. He despised the new English premier, who had so little respect

felt for him by his own countrymen that Canning said: "Pitt is to Addington as London is to Paddington." After barely fourteen months of uneasy truce even Addington was stung into renewing the war in May 1803 by Napoleon's impossible demands. In peremptory terms he had asked for the punishment of *émigrés* whom he accused of libels on himself, the expulsion of those Bourbons who had found an asylum in England, and finally, the prompt evacuation of Malta by the English when it was obvious that he intended to seize it for himself.

Addington was personally devoted to Pitt, and perhaps not too reluctantly made way for him at the head of affairs after the war had lasted a year. The King's mental balance was more unstable than ever now, and Pitt had to agree to drop Roman Catholic emancipation and also with some regret to refuse the co-operation of Fox, who had no great enthusiasm for the latest French constitution. The First Consul had got himself proclaimed hereditary Emperor of the French just as Pitt resumed office, but the change was only a formal acknowledgment of his existing authority. Britain had need of the help of all her ablest statesmen as well as of the huge volunteer army that now sprang up, for Napoleon made no secret of his plans of invasion. The hatred for his person was as great among Englishmen as among the exiled Bourbon partisans; they overlooked the good internal government he provided for France, the famous "Code Napoléon," and the very real justice that all men could count on in the French Law Courts. At the most they acknowledged his military genius, but they insisted on his callous disregard of all rights that conflicted with his own interests, and they overlooked the repeated attempts made to assassinate him by the Royalists, which explained, though they did not excuse, his execution of the Bourbon Duke of Enghien, whom he had kidnapped from Baden.

Napoleon had seized Hanover and was collecting a great army and a fleet of flat-bottomed boats at Boulogne for the invasion of England. He saw that only England stood between him and world supremacy, and that the decisive blow must be struck at London itself. His plan was to mass the French Brest and Toulon fleets and the allied Spanish fleet in the Channel for the purpose of protecting the crossing of his army in the flat-bottomed boats. A later naval defeat would

be less vital if once the French army landed in England. The commander of the Toulon fleet was accordingly ordered to slip by Nelson's blockading fleet and lure the English admiral away from Europe by a pretended flight to the West Indies in company with the Spanish fleet. Nelson heard just in time that the allied fleets had doubled back and were making for the Channel. Napoleon had hoped that they would be able to relieve the fleet blockaded in Brest and then command the Channel, but, unfortunately for his plans, Sir Robert Calder met them instead in the Bay of Biscay, and with an inferior fleet put up so good a fight that they had to make for Cadiz. Villeneuve, the French admiral, was taunted by Napoleon for his not unnatural reluctance to face Nelson, who now returned, and at last, in obedience to orders, he sailed to meet his doom off Cape Trafalgar on October 21, 1805. Hopelessly outclassed in gunnery and seamanship and with only the small margin of thirty-three ships to twenty-seven, the allied fleet was attacked by the British ships, which were drawn up in two columns, headed respectively by Nelson in the *Victory* and by Collingwood in the *Royal Sovereign*. The line was broken and few of the allied ships escaped. Nelson fell wounded by a lucky shot from the rigging of the *Redoubtable* as he paced his own quarter-deck in full uniform to encourage his men. His famous signal: "England expects every man to do his duty," had been nobly acted up to by all his crews, and for the rest of the war England was safe from invasion.

Long before Trafalgar had been lost, Napoleon had broken up his camp at Boulogne and marched to attack Austria, who in the spring of 1805 had joined England and Russia in the Third Coalition. Before the Russians could join them Napoleon had forced one Austrian army to capitulate at Ulm, on the Danube, and about a month later, on the 11th of November, he captured Vienna itself. On the 2nd of December he actually defeated the allied Austrian and Russian armies at Austerlitz; the Russians retreated homewards, but the Austrians had to sign the Treaty of Pressburg, by which Napoleon's ally Bavaria got the Tyrol, and Venice went to his own new kingdom of Italy. The failure of the Third Coalition killed Pitt, who died early in 1806, fearing the worst for the country he loved. Perhaps the praise he earned in his own day was more just than the criticisms of later years. His difficulty was that so far

Napoleon had been fighting against kings and, except in the case of Britain, not against peoples, but it was certainly due to Pitt that the nation found courage to struggle on to a successful issue.

On Pitt's death George had to allow Fox to become Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the non-party ministry of "All the Talents," with Lord Grenville as nominal premier. Even Fox had at last to agree that no treaty could be made with Napoleon and that the war must continue. Unfortunately he only survived Pitt seven months, dying September 13, 1806, just after proposing to abolish the slave trade so far as Britain was concerned. Pitt would gladly have supported him had he been alive, for he had long been a convert to the labours of the slave's friend, William Wilberforce. Fox did not leave a reputation commensurate with his undoubted abilities. As he was excluded from office till just before his death by the not wholly unjustifiable suspicion of George III, his fame rests on the association of his name with noble causes, such as Burke's championship of the Hindus and Wilberforce's anti-slavery propaganda, rather than on his actual achievements in statesmanship. He certainly miscalculated the effect on the nation of actions such as the coalition with Lord North and the championship of the heir apparent's claim to an unconditional regency, but he had a peculiar "genius for friendship" that made men able to overlook his propensity for reckless gambling and his generally dissolute way of life. He was perhaps the most efficient debater in the House of Commons, but his vehemence and want of restraint were not so suitable to a responsible statesman.

The Ministry did not long survive Fox. Its members differed from the King on the question of allowing Roman Catholic officers to rise to the higher ranks of the army, and they refused to withdraw a minute in which they claimed the right to advise the King on any subject they chose. George promptly replaced them by a wholly Tory Ministry under the nominal premier of the old Fox-North coalition, the weak Duke of Portland. Canning and Castlereagh, two of Pitt's friends, both agreed to serve under the Duke, but in 1809 they quarrelled and the former resigned. Before the year was up the Duke also resigned, and died a few weeks later. He was succeeded by the High Tory Spencer Perceval, who was murdered in the House of Commons by the madman Bellingham in May

1812. The King had been permanently insane for two years, and the Prince of Wales, as Regent, found it difficult to secure a successor to Perceval. Finally, in June 1812, Lord Liverpool began his long ministry, which lasted till 1827. It was nominally Tory, and although Roman Catholic emancipation was allowed to be an open question, yet the influence of Lord Chancellor Eldon kept the ministry in practice steadily opposed to reform. For many years even moderation could obtain no hearing.

After Trafalgar, Napoleon could make no direct attack on Britain. He had to content himself with the issue of the Berlin and Milan Decrees, by which from 1806 onwards he tried to carry out his "Continental System." He forbade all trade with the British Isles, which were declared to be in a state of blockade, but the only advantage he really obtained was the confiscation of British goods in the lands under his control. Next year, Grenville retaliated by the "Orders in Council," and the English fleet carried them out by stopping all trade with Europe so completely that at last the people whom Napoleon had conquered began to rebel against the inconveniences which his policy had brought upon them. To produce such popular discontent was, perhaps, worth the war that later ensued with the Americans, who wished to act as neutral carriers and resented the "right of search" claimed by British ships. The Continental System broke down in practice, and had only been possible even in theory by Napoleon's wonderful success after Austerlitz.

During the early part of 1806, Napoleon had organized the western half of Germany into the Confederation of the Rhine under his own control. The Emperor Francis II formally dissolved the Holy Roman Empire, and Napoleon bestowed Holland, Naples, and finally Westphalia and Spain on his brothers as dependent kingdoms. Prussia vainly tried to remain on friendly terms with the French Emperor, for she was in no condition for war. Despising Prussia, Napoleon broke his promise to give her Hanover, and when she dared to declare war he utterly ruined the Prussian army and so the State in the decisive battles of Jena and Auerstadt. He imposed most humiliating terms upon his beaten foes, and when the Czar Alexander of Russia intervened Napoleon roughly handled his armies at Eylau and Friedland. Friedland was a real defeat, and the Czar, angry at the English for

not sending help, made the Treaty of Tilsit with Napoleon on July 7, 1807. When Alexander professed to hate England as much as Napoleon did, it was easy to arrange that the latter should allow the Czar to tear Finland from Sweden and seize as much Turkish territory as possible, while Napoleon himself ruled all Europe west of the Niemen.

Napoleon had been too successful; the Continental System was a constant source of irritation, as the price of food and clothing steadily rose everywhere, and his undisguised contempt for the Prussians after Jena roused the fighting spirit of that warlike race. Its youth sought moral and physical strength in the "Tugendbund," or "League of Virtue," and the gymnasiums, and the foundation of the "Burschenschaft," or "Students' League," at Jena was the beginning of the more generous ideal of a united Germany to which that league henceforth devoted itself. In Prussia itself, great statesmen like Stein and Scharnhorst skilfully built up the new Prussian state and army undetected by Napoleon till it was too late. The German people, like the English people, decided to reject the system of Napoleon, and the people of Spain were soon added to their company. Even to Denmark, where Napoleon could count on a benevolent neutrality, the Continental System brought trouble. Canning, the Foreign Minister in 1807, discovering that Napoleon meant to use the Danish fleet against Britain, sent a fleet and army to anticipate its seizure by the French. After Copenhagen had been bombarded the Danes gave way, but their resistance provided the English Government with the excuse to withdraw a former promise to restore the fleet at the conclusion of peace.

While Napoleon had been extending his power over Western Europe, his future conqueror, Arthur Wellesley, then an officer in the Indian army, had been gaining military experience under his elder brother, the Lord Mornington who had conquered Tippoo Sahib in 1799. Not long after Tippoo's fall, Mornington, who had been made Marquis Wellesley, discovered signs of trouble among the Mahrattas. The Peishwah, or Prime Minister, who ruled at Poonah in the name of the descendant of Sivaji, found his own power challenged by the chiefs who bore the titles of Sindhia, Holkar, and the Bhonsla, and in 1802 had to accept Wellesley's terms—the suzerainty of the East India Company—in return for help against Holkar, who had driven him out of Poonah. Wellesley interfered because

he learnt that Sindhia, the friend of Holkar, had taken into his pay a body of French adventurers under Perron. To counter this dangerous scheme of Napoleon, Wellesley sent his brother, the future Duke of Wellington, to attack the Mahratta forces of Sindhia, Holkar, and the Bhonsla from the south, while General Lake attacked them from the north. Arthur Wellesley defeated the Mahrattas at Assaye in September and at Argaum in November 1803, a few weeks after Lake had completely crushed Sindhia himself at Laswaree. These victories freed the Mogul State of Delhi and the Nizam of Hyderabad from the power of the Mahrattas, but Holkar himself was not finally defeated till January 1806. Before Holkar's submission, Marquis Wellesley was recalled, as the East India Company did not like his expensive wars. However, the most successful governors after him followed his example of stamping out freebooters, such as the Mahratta chiefs, and bringing as much of India as possible under direct or indirect English influence.

Arthur Wellesley had won fame by his defeat of the Mahrattas, but his great chance came when Napoleon allowed his ambition to overleap itself on the Spanish question. In view of their important coastline, complete control of Spain and Portugal was necessary for the success of the Continental System. Spain had for many years been the useful dependent ally of France, for its king, Charles IV, was a feeble tool in the hands of his wife and her lover Godoy, and unfortunately the Crown Prince Ferdinand, though he chafed at the favourite's power, was too weak to help the country. When Godoy, after Trafalgar, began to show signs of independence, Napoleon tricked him in October 1807 by a treaty which promised one-third of the kingdom of Portugal to the minister and the other two-thirds to France and Spain. Actually the French Emperor, having sent an army into Spain under Murat for the conquest of Portugal, used a quarrel between Charles IV and Ferdinand, really caused by himself, to induce both princes to abdicate the throne, and ordered Murat to occupy Madrid. An attempt at insurrection in May 1808 was put down severely, and next month Napoleon persuaded certain Spaniards to offer the throne of Spain to his own elder brother Joseph, whose kingdom of Naples was then given to the Emperor's brother-in-law Murat. However, the Spanish people had already risen in a national insurrection all over the country, and refused to

accept Joseph Bonaparte. At first the French armies, in obedience to Napoleon's orders, found little difficulty in putting down the half-armed peasant bands, but one of them, under General Dupont, pushed too far south and had to capitulate to the peasants at Baylen. The new king and his army promptly retreated from Madrid, while the Spaniards appealed to England for help.

Canning, the English Foreign Minister, had seen with great uneasiness the success of Napoleon's general, Junot, in Portugal, with which England had a long-standing alliance. However, even when the Royal Family sailed away to Brazil, their chief colony, the Portuguese nation held out, and Canning persuaded the ministry to send Sir Arthur Wellesley with an army to assist them and the Spaniards. On August 1, 1808, Wellesley landed at Mondego Bay, in Portugal, and within three weeks had defeated Junot at Vimiero, north of Lisbon. After the victory Wellesley, as a mere Indian officer, was superseded by two superiors from England who, despite his protests, allowed the beaten general to retreat to Lisbon, and on August 30 Junot was able to make the Convention of Cintra and return with his troops to France unmolested. The three commanders were recalled to England, but Wellesley was exonerated from blame.

In November 1808 Napoleon came in person to avenge French defeats, and found no difficulty in driving the Spaniards before him and entering Madrid on December 4. The English Government had entrusted Sir John Moore with an inadequate army, but ordered him to advance to aid the Spaniards against Napoleon. Moore was a brilliant soldier, and the Spaniards were eager to fight for their country, but they were badly disciplined and worse led, and, moreover, the roads were everywhere unfit for the passage of Moore's army. Notwithstanding the difficulties, Moore marched to the north-east towards Burgos, and by threatening his communications with France forced Napoleon to hurry back from Madrid and thus relieved the pressure on the Spaniards. However, as they were unable to help him in turn, the English general began his wonderful retreat to Corunna at the end of December. So well did he handle his men that Napoleon seized the pretext of important news from Paris to turn over the pursuit to Soult. When the latter attempted to prevent the embarkation of the British army at Corunna, it turned to bay, and although Sir John

Moore was killed the French were completely defeated. Moore had undoubtedly been the cause of Napoleon's first real check, and the moral effect on the Spaniards was enormous.

The news received by Napoleon related to a renewal of the war by Austria. However, once more Napoleon, by a victory at Wagram on July 6, 1809, forced a humiliating peace on Austria, and compelled the Austrian Emperor to give him the hand of his daughter Marie Louise in marriage. Being anxious to safeguard his throne by providing for the succession, Napoleon had divorced the childless Josephine, through whose friendship with the Director Barras he had first climbed to power. His Austrian wife certainly bore him a son, but the marriage was not a success in other ways, and the new Austrian chancellor, Metternich, used it as the first step to encompass vengeance for repeated national humiliations. Before Austria's final defeat Castlereagh had attempted to make a diversion in her favour by an attack on Antwerp, but through misunderstandings between the Earl of Chatham, the commander of the army, and Admiral Sir Richard Strachan the expedition only succeeded in taking Flushing, and then melted away from fever in the swamps of the island of Walcheren. Canning impetuously blamed Castlereagh for the failure, and the result was a duel and the resignation of both ministers.

However, before the failure of the Walcheren expedition, Wellesley was sent back to Portugal, as Canning hoped that success there would relieve the pressure on Austria. Wellesley had no difficulty in driving Soult from Portugal, and he proceeded to advance on Madrid up the Tagus valley in the expectation of assistance from the Spaniards. On the 27th of July he completely defeated Marshal Victor at Talavera, but receiving no help from the disorganized Spaniards he retreated to Lisbon. For his victory he was made Viscount Wellington, and he had the good sense to devote his energies for a time to the more possible task of drilling a serviceable Portuguese army, of which his fellow Irishman, Beresford, was made leader. Knowing that as yet it would be folly to risk a decisive battle with the able Massena whom Napoleon had sent against him, Wellington in 1810 drew a triple line of earthworks from the Tagus to the sea to defend Lisbon, or, if necessary, to protect the embarkation of his troops. Massena had no knowledge of the altered situation, and was misled by the rear-guard action which Wellington fought at Busaco to cover his retreat. When he

finally arrived before the first line of Torres Vedras, as the defences were called, he recognized that to storm them was impossible, but so great was his fear of Napoleon's anger that 30,000 of his men died of hunger and disease before he dared to retreat.

Meanwhile Napoleon had been raising up more enemies by his reckless annexations. In the hope of making the Continental System effective he had carried his eastern frontier along the coast as far as the Elbe by the end of 1810, but had only succeeded in making his yoke still more intolerable. Wellington was waiting for the time when a popular rising in Germany should force Napoleon to withdraw troops from Spain and so allow him to take the offensive with some hope of success. His army was well trained, and so steady in action that he could rely upon it to withstand the attack of a solid French column, although itself only ranged two deep. It is true that the Spaniards were only useful as guerillas, but Wellington was content that they should force the French generals to waste large bodies of troops on the long lines of communication. He had, however, a trustworthy ally in the perpetual jealousy which the French generals displayed towards one another, and in consequence generally found it easy to attack them when unsupported by their colleagues. For example, in March 1811, General Graham caught Victor at Barrosa and saved Cadiz, while two months later Wellington fought a drawn battle with Massena at Fuentes d'Onoro, and Beresford beat Soult at Albuera. However, Wellington could not venture any great distance into Spain until he had captured the strong border fortresses of Badajos and Ciudad Rodrigo.

Once more two French generals, Marmont and Soult, quarrelled and refused to act together. Wellington seized the opportunity to capture Ciudad Rodrigo at the beginning of 1812, but fearing lest Soult might arrive in time to relieve the more southerly Badajos, Wellington hurriedly forced his men to storm that city, and they disgraced their victory by unnecessary cruelty. Perhaps Wellington's unflattering opinion of the moral character of his men was not wholly without foundation. However, he made good use of his advantages, and as Napoleon was withdrawing large numbers of French troops for an expedition to Russia, he even managed to defeat Marmont at Salamanca in July 1812 and capture Madrid. To defend the north and their own retreat the French troops in Southern

Spain hurried after Wellington, who cautiously withdrew to Portugal and prepared for the final advance which he saw would soon be possible.

By 1811 the Czar Alexander had grown tired of the costly alliance with France, for to him the Continental System brought no gain, and Napoleon had not only dispossessed the Czar's relative, the Duke of Oldenburg, but had also shown signs of desiring to deprive Russia of her Polish possessions. When Alexander again admitted British merchandise Napoleon angled for the alliance of Prussia and Austria, both his former victims, and foolishly believing that his line of communications would be secure he led all his best troops, including contingents from Spain, against the Czar. He eventually reached Moscow after a costly victory at Borodino, on September 7, 1812, but had almost at once to begin a still more costly retreat, as the Russians burnt down Moscow as soon as he entered it. Only a scanty remnant of the Grand Army, as it was called, recrossed the frontier, and naturally Prussia and Austria joined the Russians when they in turn attacked Napoleon. After a terrible three days' battle at Leipzig in October 1813, Napoleon was forced back into France, and even his marvellous ability was unequal to the task of defending Paris when Wellington burst into Southern France.

Wellington had availed himself to the full of Napoleon's failure in Russia, and invading Spain had defeated King Joseph at Vittoria in June 1813 and won a dukedom for himself. Not only were the French forced to abandon Spain, but they could not keep Wellington out of France. In July Wellington beat Soult at the battle of the Pyrenees, and soon afterwards the last strongholds, San Sebastian and Pampeluna, were taken. Early in 1814 Wellington won a fresh victory at Orthez, in France, and Soult, not knowing that the Allies were already in Paris and had forced his master to abdicate, risked a last stand at Toulouse and failed. Wellington's patience and skilful waiting tactics were rewarded by the universal insurrection of Napoleon's victims, and the justification of the long Peninsular War was to be found in the way in which it hampered Napoleon's efforts elsewhere. By the first Peace of Paris France received back the Bourbons, but the new king, Louis XVIII, though perhaps not too willingly, gave a comparatively liberal constitution, and the Allies allowed France to retain a somewhat extended frontier. Britain only

kept Tobago, St. Lucia, and Mauritius of her conquests from the French, but the Dutch had to resign "British" Guiana, Ceylon, and the Cape.

In the December of 1814 the Treaty of Ghent ended the desultory war which had arisen between Britain and America in 1812 from the former's attempts to carry out the "Orders in Council." Neither side had gained any glory either by land or sea. English rashness had caused the loss of several ships, but consolation was found in the capture of the American ship *Chesapeake* in fair fight by Captain Broke in the *Shannon* outside Boston harbour. On land an American invasion of Canada failed miserably, while an English army disgraced itself by burning Washington and the Capitol, and another made an unsuccessful attack on New Orleans after peace had been signed.

The downfall of Napoleon had been brought about by the new (Fourth) Coalition—the famous Quadruple Alliance concluded at Chaumont, March 1, 1814, when the French Emperor would not listen to reasonable terms—and on his abdication it was arranged that an European Congress should meet at Vienna to remake the map of Europe. Napoleon was allowed to retain the title of Emperor, and was given the Island of Elba, off Italy, in full sovereignty. However, the Allies began to wrangle over the spoils so openly that Napoleon, restless in his new position, boldly crossed over to France, March 1, 1815. The army soon rallied round him, and Louis XVIII fled. During the "Hundred Days" of his second reign Napoleon vainly tried to persuade the Allies to allow him to retain his position on condition of accepting the Peace of Paris. They declared him the public enemy of Europe, and England and Prussia poured troops into Belgium. Napoleon won a last victory at Ligny, when he forced the Prussians under Blücher to retreat, on July 16, and on the same day Marshal Ney fought a drawn battle with the English, Belgians, and Hanoverians at Quatre Bras. However, the Emperor had now lost his vigour, and he was betrayed by the perhaps wilful incompetency of Grouchy, who ought to have vigorously pursued the Prussians. The result was that Wellington took up a strong position on the field of Waterloo on June 18 to cover Brussels, and despite the desperate valour of the French Guards and the clever tactics of the Emperor, he held his position until late in the day, when Blücher's Prussians began to appear. To guard against the

new and unexpected danger Napoleon had to weaken his line. Wellington ordered an advance at the critical moment, and the Prussians turned the French retreat into a rout.

The Allies followed so vigorously that Napoleon found Paris disinclined to resist. He abdicated in favour of his son, and tried to escape to America. However, Rochfort was blockaded by an English fleet, and Napoleon was reduced to a voluntary surrender to the commander of the *Bellerophon*. He vainly claimed protection, as a political refugee, from the nation he had despised, but he could hope for no mercy, especially from Prussia, and he was imprisoned till his death, May 5, 1821, on St. Helena, a barren islet in the South Atlantic. Once more Louis XVIII came back, but France paid heavily in frontier territory and war indemnity at the second Peace of Paris. Only the chivalrous character of the Czar Alexander, cleverly worked on by Talleyrand, saved France from Prussia's extreme demands; but the Quadruple Alliance made France feel that she was a suspected pariah in Europe, while the quarrels of the Allies at the Congress of Vienna and afterwards encouraged her to hope that sooner or later she would overturn "the Treaties of 1815."

CHAPTER VI

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND ITS SEQUEL THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION

England under William III had been able to defend the constitutional settlement of 1688 because, thanks to the alliance of the Whigs with the mercantile interest, sufficient financial support had been afforded to William to enable him to wear down the great resources of Louis XIV. At intervals the struggle with France had been renewed, and only in the War of American Independence did England really suffer defeat between 1688 and the Great Peace that began in 1815. During this long period England's internal progress was unchecked, for the Jacobite risings of the '15 and '45 and the echoes of French revolutionary propaganda were of little real importance, and, successful as she was in war, England was even more successful in her industrial achievements. Indeed, while it is true that the elder Pitt made trade flourish by war and

tore the American and Indian markets from France, it is equally true that his son made war flourish by the foreign trade upon which rested the great industries that provided for the costs of war and the enormous subsidies to the Allies. The victories in war and industry interacted, and the internal peace secured by victory was partly the cause and partly the occasion of the great movement we know as the Industrial Revolution.

In the eighteenth century the population of England and Wales almost doubled itself. It was estimated by the contemporary statistician Gregory King at about 5,500,000 at the Revolution of 1688: by 1750 it had only increased to 6,500,000, but during the next half century it increased to about 9,000,000 according to the figures of the census of 1801. War, pestilence, and famine had tended to keep down the population for many centuries. Under the three-field system of agriculture that prevailed in more than three fifths of the arable land cultivated in England at the time of the Revolution, one-third of the total acreage lay fallow each year, and a large part of the remainder was taken up by field paths and the balks or ridges of unploughed turf that divided the innumerable acre or half-acre strips from one another. Even the land actually tilled bore scanty crops owing to the unscientific character of the farming, and half the country consisted of moors and wastes of various kinds. The Continent was convulsed with war, and England had to discover the means of increasing the home supply of food and clothing.

The problem of the food supply was solved by the agricultural revolution which partly preceded and in some ways alone made possible the industrial revolution. Jethro Tull of Berkshire (1674–1741) taught men the advantages of more systematic agriculture, and introduced machines for sowing the crops. Lord Townshend (1674–1738), after his quarrel with his brother-in-law Walpole, spent a profitable life on his estate at Rainham, in East Anglia, in teaching men that the fallow land was actually benefited by a crop of turnips, which also provided winter food for the cattle. As the farmers now no longer had need to kill their stock at Martinmas as before, the number of cattle increased rapidly. Bakewell (1725–1795) of Leicestershire began in 1755 his experiments in crossing breeds of cattle to emphasize and increase the advantages of the various kinds in their descendants. So successful was the

new experiment that between 1710 and 1795 the weight of a fat ox at Smithfield Market increased from 370 lb. to 800 lb., and the weight of a sheep from 28 lb. to 80 lb. George III himself won the name of "Farmer George" for his interest in the new system. Another useful pioneer later in the century was Arthur Young (1741–1820), who has left us a vivid picture of his travels both in England and France. He was never tired of pointing out the wastefulness of the three-field system, and urged upon landowners everywhere to "enclose" their fields—that is, to abolish the fallow field and the balks, and to redistribute all the land, including pasture and "waste," into convenient large-sized fields where the fullest advantage could be taken of the new teaching as to the rotation of crops and scientific farming.

When the owner of all the village land was the same man there was little difficulty in adopting the new agriculture, but a large part of English arable land was held on various obsolete or obsolescent terms by "yeomen" or working farmers who tilled the land by the help of their own families and perhaps a few labourers. The yeomen had also rights of pasture for their cattle over the waste as well as over the arable when crops had been reaped, and, moreover, the cottagers or farm labourers, although they possessed little or no land in the common fields, had traditional if not always legal rights over the waste, where they kept an ox, a few sheep, or pigs or poultry, and gathered wood for their fire or wild fruits in their season. In the rare cases when all the landowners agreed it was comparatively easy to appoint local commissioners to carry through the re-allotment of the holdings to their mutual satisfaction. The cost of surveying and other expenses were soon recovered by the increased returns from the land.

However, far more frequently the few farmers who adopted the processes of the new agriculture saw their efforts ruined by the weeds of their less enterprising neighbours, and either gave up in despair or managed to convert the majority of their fellows to the only possible alternative of applying to Parliament for a private Act of Enclosure which, though expensive, provided for the appointment of commissioners with legal power to re-allot the land. Undoubtedly many "agreed enclosures" took place because a few rich men bought up the holdings of recalcitrants or bullied them into acquiescence, and it is indisputable that the traditional, and in some cases the legal

rights of the smaller peasantry were disregarded or compensated by unfair allotments. Many a small yeoman had to sell all or part of his new land to pay his share of the cost of the Act, and sometimes became a mere landless labourer in his native village. The labourers, who at best often received only a small monetary compensation or a fragment of useless land for what were to them valuable common rights, later found that the home industries of spinning and weaving—the Domestic System as it was called—were also adversely affected by the recent mechanical inventions in those arts, and as the century went on sank into the dispirited condition of parish paupers. The nation gained as a whole by the increased output, and some men made fortunes, but England has in more recent years felt the loss of the "bold peasantry, their country's pride," and many are the plans now formed to replace the peasant proprietor on the land under better economic conditions. The process of enclosing was steady up to 1750, when some 112 private Acts had been passed, but after that date it went on rapidly. Nearly 3000 Acts were passed up to the date of the General Enclosure Act of 1801, after which most of the remaining land came under the modern system of agriculture.

Another factor in the success of the Industrial Revolution was the great improvement in the means of transport. Mediæval roads had fallen into decay, and transport by clumsy wagons or strings of pack-horses was both slow and expensive. The inland towns did not all possess navigable rivers, but the self-taught engineer James Brindley showed the way to overcome that difficulty when he constructed the famous Bridgewater Canal in 1761 to bring the Duke of Bridgewater's coal through the seven miles of hilly country that cut off the mine at Worsley from its market at Manchester. Water carriage was so cheap that in the eighteenth century an elaborate system of canals sprang up everywhere and materially aided the transporting of the new textiles, coal, iron ore, and clay from the interior to the coast for export. Later, better roads were made by Telford and Macadam, and soon loaded wagons and passenger stage-coaches began to traverse England from end to end at what was considered remarkable speed. As they partly superseded the canals, so they were in return even more largely superseded by the railway when George Stephenson early in the nineteenth century perfected the rude locomotives invented by his predecessors.

The Industrial Revolution proper occurred in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and affected not only textile industries, but also pottery and iron. There had always been a considerable textile industry in England. For many centuries English woollen cloth had been exported, especially from the West of England, for English wool was famous. There was also a cotton industry, but the warp was of the tougher linen. However, spinning and weaving done by hand in the houses of the peasantry for the most part were slow and not always of the best quality. The weaver was sometimes kept waiting by the slower spinner, generally the unmarried woman—hence the term spinster—of the family, and when Kay, by his invention of the "flying shuttle" in 1738, enabled one weaver to do the work of two, there arose a famine in yarn, even though Kay's invention was not at first widely adopted.

Then a number of mechanical inventions followed in quick succession. In 1767 Hargreaves invented his "spinning-jenny," by which a number of spindles could be worked at once, so that a single worker could produce a very large number of threads at the same time. Now there arose unemployment among the spinners, as the cheapness of their product had not yet increased the demand for cloth and so encouraged the employment of more weavers. The spinners did not understand that increased supply at cheaper rates ultimately meant increased demand, and in their anger Hargreaves's neighbours broke his machine and drove the inventor to flight. Two years later Arkwright the barber improved upon the first spinning-jenny by utilizing water-power to work it. He too was attacked by workmen, but he persevered despite the burning of his mill, and finally, after spending £12,000 in experiments, he made a fortune out of inventions which were founded on the ideas of other men but which he alone could make a success. In 1775 Samuel Crompton combined Hargreaves's jenny and Arkwright's water-frame in a machine thus called the "mule," which spun a much finer thread than before. He managed to save his machine from the mob, but his rights were stolen from him under a specious pretext by the manufacturers, who were not ashamed to offer him a subscription of under £70 when, expecting a modest competence, he had entrusted them with his secret.

Crompton's invention produced far more yarn than could be utilized by the weavers, but the more difficult task of inventing

a weaving machine was long in being solved. Even when Dr. Edmund Cartwright invented the power-loom it was not widely used at first, and it was not till the early part of the nineteenth century, after it had been greatly improved, that its use became profitable and therefore common. However, the weavers had a hard time during the Revolutionary War, for their wages were reduced by the entrance into the craft of unskilled agricultural labourers for whose cheap and coarse work the speculators found markets, and during the war these speculations reacted disastrously on the positions of the older and better trained hand-loom weavers.

At first, although weaving remained more or less a domestic industry, the cost of the new spinning machinery caused the spinners to become more and more grouped in mills, as they were called, situated on the banks of streams in Lancashire and Yorkshire where the water-power could be utilized. Thanks to the suitably moist climate of Lancashire, the cotton trade became definitely located there, while the woollen trade gravitated to the West Riding of Yorkshire. When James Watt produced a workable and more economical steam-engine than those of his predecessors water-power was gradually superseded by steam in both kinds of textile industry. As there were extensive coalfields in both Lancashire and the West Riding, Watt's invention only increased the number of mills by rendering other sites available, although the owners of factories and mills at first distrusted the new motive power. Soon there was a difficulty in obtaining labour in sufficient quantity, but machines were invented which could be partly at least managed by child labour, with an adult as overlooker. Then began in earnest the horrors of the factory system, for the London and south country workhouses were swept bare by masters who were so eager for pauper apprentices that they were willing to take one idiot child in every twenty. All factory owners were not equally selfish, and it was due to one of them, the father of Sir Robert Peel, that the "Health and Morals of Apprentices" Act of 1802—the first Factory Act—was passed. The Act was evaded, and little children for many years afterwards had to work long hours in unhealthy conditions with scanty food and insufficient clothes, housed in most unsuitable buildings by night and bullied by cruel overseers while at work.

About the middle of the eighteenth century the discovery

was made that iron could be smelted by means of coal, which was found side by side with iron ore in the northern counties. At once the amount of the metal available for the construction of machinery rapidly increased. Hitherto the weald of Sussex had provided considerable quantities of iron, which was then smelted by charcoal, but the forest trees had grown so rare that the smelting industry migrated to the coalfields. Wedgwood, the pottery manufacturer, utilized the new system of canals to bring flints from East Anglia and china clay from Devon and Cornwall to Staffordshire, which enabled him to introduce improved processes of manufacture, while at the same time he obtained a cheaper and safer means of transit for his heavy and brittle goods.

The net result of the industrial revolution was that, besides increasing enormously the wealth and trade of the country, it affected a complete redistribution of population and wealth. The new industries were seated in the north and midland counties, generally outside the old chartered towns. The workers and masters alike, even when the latter were wealthy capitalists who provided a large proportion of the national revenue, had no share in the election of Members of Parliament unless they were landowners. At first the workers were not alive to their position except so far as they desired better conditions of labour, but the masters, who were interested in finding new markets for their goods, began to look with disfavour on the great Whig lords who represented mainly the landed as opposed to the newer commercial interests in the House of Commons. As has already been pointed out, the elder Pitt was consistently supported by the merchants of London and the great towns, and his son not only conferred peerages on the more successful representatives of the mercantile class, but also shared in their desire to reform the parliamentary franchise on more equitable lines.

The success of George III in defeating the Whig Oligarchy had convinced many Whigs that there must be a reform of Parliament far more drastic than the Act passed through Burke's influence in 1782. Burke and many contemporary political thinkers were content to make Parliament reflect fairly the opinion of the landed interest of the country, but others went far beyond even the elder Pitt's schemes for electoral reform in 1766 and 1770, which proposed to "counterbalance the weight of corrupt and venal boroughs" by adding a

third member to each county. He prophesied that the only alternative to reform from within was drastic reform from without. In 1770 John Wilkes formally proposed an anticipation of the Act of 1832: he would disfranchise rotten boroughs in favour of London and unrepresented manufacturing towns. In 1780 began the proposals for radical reform which had not the least chance of acceptance at such a time. In that year the Duke of Richmond actually suggested the introduction of annual Parliaments, universal suffrage, and equal electoral districts, while outside Parliament the "Society for Promoting Constitutional Information" was founded by Major Cartwright, and succeeded in obtaining members from both Houses of Parliament. The younger Pitt realized that such sweeping proposals were futile, but in 1782, 1783, and finally when Prime Minister in 1785, he attacked the system of corruption so prevalent in the borough elections. However, in 1785 he offended the reformers by a scheme to buy out the borough-owners, and did not offer sufficient to tempt the latter to sell; nor did his proposal to enfranchise copyholders excite any enthusiasm. He was even refused leave to bring in the Bill, and the outbreak of the French Revolution made him hesitate to support the reform proposals of Flood in 1790 and Grey in 1792 on the ground that, though he still thought reform theoretically desirable, it was no longer practicable during the great crisis.

The first period of the movement for reform—the proposals of individual liberal-minded statesmen—came to an end when the French Revolution made the whole matter a party question. A large proportion of the Whigs finally joined Pitt and declared against all reform, at least for the present, though the remainder found in Grey and Erskine persistent champions of moderate reform as the best safeguard against revolutionary excess. The reformers were stronger outside Parliament, and various societies sprang up both among the enfranchised as well as the unenfranchised classes, ranging from the Radical Hampden clubs of the latter to the highly respectable "Friends of the People," with whose principles even Pitt could not quarrel. The latter society offered in 1793 to "prove that about 200 Members of Parliament were returned by towns with less than 100 electors, and that 357 members were returned by 154 patrons." However, both in 1793 and 1797 Grey's motion for reform was defeated by huge majorities,

and for a time the scant Opposition Party seceded from the House of Commons as a protest against Pitt's repressive legislation referred to in the previous chapter. This secession brought to an end the second period of the movement, and when Grey and Erskine went to the House of Lords the chief advocate of reform in the Commons during the next twenty-three years—the third period—was the Tory democrat Sir Francis Burdett, who practically adopted the Duke of Richmond's programme. When Burdett also proposed to introduce vote by ballot in 1818, he was defeated by 206 to 0. Two years later the fourth period opened with the definite appearance of Lord John Russell as the champion of moderate reform. Henceforth, almost yearly, attacks were made on the existing borough franchise which culminated in the first Reform Bill.

Meanwhile the artisans, who mostly lived in the large new towns of the north and Midlands, which were often not even nominally represented in Parliament, redoubled their demands for reform. In the early years Pitt's repressive legislation made armed revolution impossible in England, and when Bonaparte founded the Empire many ardent reformers lost faith in French ideals. However, there grew up in England a steadily increasing Radical movement which insisted that the English House of Commons at least was in need of "root-and-branch" reformation. Some of the Radicals were working men, like the famous tailor of Charing Cross, Francis Place, while others were disciples of the great Jeremy Bentham, whose *Fragment on Government* was a direct challenge to the existing state of the constitution. Grote, Mill, and Molesworth—the philosophic Radicals, as they were called—were all more or less disciples of Bentham, and maintained that legislation should have reference to the "greatest good of the greatest number" and not merely to the interests of an aristocratic landowning clique. In early days wealth, and so authority, had been confined to landowners, but the day of feudalism had passed, and the rich manufacturers and capitalists, although they seldom had any real wish to see their workers enfranchised, could support heartily the moderate reform proposals of Lord John Russell.

When the war ended in 1815 there was great distress among the working classes. Bad trade and deficient harvests were made more burdensome by an ill-advised corn law, which had been passed partly to secure a supply of home-grown wheat

in case of a renewal of the war, and partly to safeguard from loss the landlords and farmers who had made expensive improvements on their lands on the strength of the high prices that prevailed during the war. The ignorant peasantry and artisans were exploited by the baser Radical politicians, such as "Orator Hunt," who encouraged rick burning and other deeds of violence while they themselves kept out of the clutches of the law as far as possible. Writers such as William Cobbett braved the stringent libel laws of the time and used the Press to propagate the new ideas of reform. In 1817 rioting, not far removed from formal insurrection, was pitilessly quelled and the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. In 1819 the rioting broke out again, and an ill-advised attempt by the Manchester magistrates to arrest "Orator Hunt" by force in the midst of his followers during a political meeting led to an attack on the crowd by the regular troops, called the "Peterloo Massacre." However, not only were ministers formally supported by the House of Commons by large majorities, but they were even able to pass the "Six Acts" which, if strictly carried out, would make impossible not only Radical preparations for revolution, but even a public agitation either on the platform or in the Press of which the Government disapproved.

Soon afterwards George III died. His own opposition to all reform had long ceased to count, for he had been insane for the past ten years, but the Tory Party, led by Lord Liverpool, continued in office under his son, George IV. The Radicals, rendered desperate by repressive legislation, resorted to violence. One of Hunt's "extremist" followers, Arthur Thistlewood, hired a stable in Cato Street, London, and with a handful of foolish men plotted to murder the ministers at an approaching Cabinet dinner, and then to seize London and declare a revolution. The conspiracy was detected, and with the trial and execution of Thistlewood and his friends the Radical movement fell into disgrace. Luckily for the cause of reform, which these violent methods threatened temporarily to ruin, the ministers incurred great unpopularity from their support of the King in the squalid domestic quarrel with his wife, Queen Caroline. Brougham, a Reformer, defended her, and the attempt to divorce her by Act of Parliament, which George IV insisted should be made, discredited both the King and his ministers.

However, better times were now coming. As has been

mentioned, the question of Roman Catholic relief had been left an open question in Lord Liverpool's ministry, but many supporters of Pitt's scheme had only kept silence out of respect to the royal scruples. However, no one could be expected to believe seriously in the scruples of a *roué* like George IV, and in 1821 the Commons, thanks largely to Pitt's friend George Canning, passed a relief measure which only the opposition of the Lords kept from becoming law. By a curious coincidence in the same year Lord John Russell actually carried a Bill to disfranchise the corrupt borough of Grampound, but he had to accept a compromise which gave the two seats to the West Riding of Yorkshire instead of to the prosperous town of Leeds. In 1822 Sir Robert Peel became Home Secretary in place of the reactionary Sidmouth, and soon afterwards Canning and Huskisson, both Moderate Tories, became respectively Foreign Minister and President of the Board of Trade, and a new era may be said to have opened.

Canning succeeded his old rival Castlereagh, later known as Lord Londonderry, who committed suicide in 1822. Londonderry's Toryism was by no means so extreme as is often supposed, but on his death Lord Liverpool could only retain office by giving a free hand to the Moderate Tories or Canningites who represented the earlier liberal ideas of Pitt. Canning acknowledged the independence of the revolted Spanish colonies in South America, thus, as he boasted, "calling the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old," and he did all he could short of war to help the Continental Liberals against the repressive interference of the Austrian chancellor, Metternich, who had managed to convert the Holy Alliance of Austria, Prussia, and Russia into an engine of oppression not in the least resembling the original intentions of the well-meaning founder, the Czar Alexander. Whereas Castlereagh had merely refused to assist in the coercion of the Liberals of Naples and Spain who had wrested constitutions from their kings, Canning ostentatiously preached the doctrine that outside powers, even the Quadruple Alliance, had no right to interfere in the internal revolutions of other states which did not actually attack their neighbours. Unfortunately Canning was not always able to back up his words by deeds, but an English fleet and army restored the constitution of Portugal, and he approved of the "Monroe doctrine" laid down by the President of the United States that no coloniza-

tion or intervention by European Powers in the New World would be permitted.

Huskisson's work more directly affected the social well-being of the nation. The mercantile system that prevailed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries meant that in the interests of national well-being the State laid down laws to govern the relations of masters and workmen and made regulations concerning not only conditions of apprenticeship, but also the wages of labour, which had to be fixed by the local justices of the peace at an amount which secured an adequate subsistence for the labourer. By the eighteenth century the Elizabethan Statute of Apprentices or Artificers and much of the kindred system of State regulation had begun to break down, and was, indeed, not applicable to the entirely different conditions produced by the industrial revolution. However, in the eighteenth century both merchants and economists had become converts either by experience or study to the advantages of the opposite *laissez-faire* theory which condemned all State interference with trade as disastrous, however well-intentioned.

Pitt, as a disciple of Adam Smith, the "Father of Free Trade," had neither the inclination nor the opportunity to interfere between the millowner and his adult victims, but, as has been already mentioned, the sufferings of the pauper apprentices were such that a wholly inadequate Act had to be passed in 1802 to attempt some remedy. Naturally the adult workers, whether distressed spinners or hand-loom weavers, to whom industrial revolution in England and political revolution in France brought a double woe, or the ordinary workmen who felt the effects of the dislocation of economic life, cried out for a redress of their grievances. They had no part or lot in the old craft guilds, which, indeed, had become moribund institutions where they actually survived. In their place the workmen attempted to form local trade unions, which generally arose from the practice of men of the same craft talking over their grievances at the public-house that they were accustomed to frequent. As these unions sometimes used violence towards recalcitrant workers or harsh employers, and as they were technically conspiracies to raise wages by threats, they fell under the repressive and revolutionary laws passed by Parliament at the end of the century, especially the law of 1800. Naturally the workmen were frequently ardent admirers of the French Revolution and

members of the various revolutionary societies that sprang up. Some workmen made a despairing attempt to revive the Elizabethan system of regulation of wages by the local magistrates, but the only result was that Parliament repealed that part of the statute in 1813.

Huskisson was known to have liberal sympathies in some directions. In 1823 he carried a "Reciprocity of Duties" Bill which modified the effects of the Navigation Acts. These had now done their work, for they had transferred a large share of the world's carrying trade from the Dutch to the English, but they were exciting reprisals which threatened the English export trade. In 1824 Acts were passed under which the wages of the wretched Spitalfields silk-weavers were to be no longer fixed by law, and all workmen were allowed freely to travel about the country in search of work, despite the restrictions of the Act of Settlement. At the end of the year the duties on imported silk and wool were largely reduced, and the manufacture correspondingly cheapened.

It was in this year that Francis Place, one of the more moderate working men's leaders, won his great triumph in securing the repeal of the Combination Laws, which made it a crime for the workers even to combine to raise wages. Place had been a workman himself, and knew by experience the sufferings of his class. He believed that the mere permission to form trade unions and "go on strike" would make for peace, as each side would tend to become reasonable in their own interest. He found a useful tool in the ambitious Radical member Joseph Hume, who got himself appointed chairman of a commission to inquire into the working of the Combination Laws. As Hume was carefully primed by Place with *ex parte* evidence, and as Place primed the witnesses also, the committee reported against the whole system of restriction, and an Act was passed repealing all laws that forbade combinations of either masters or men. Unfortunately the expectations of Place were not realized, and the labour disturbances were so violent that an attempt to repeal the Act of 1825 was made by the masters. It required all Place's skill to secure the tolerable compromise that combinations might be formed so long as they did not attempt any form of intimidation. However, even so trade unions were merely tolerated; they had no legal status, and even as late as 1833 several Dorset labourers were transported "for administering illegal oaths" to members

of their trade unions. At common law trade unions are still illegal organizations, and apart from the individuals who form them have neither legal rights nor duties.

Early in 1827 an attack of apoplexy forced Lord Liverpool to resign the Premiership, and his only possible successor was Canning. The Duke of Wellington, Lord Eldon, the Chancellor, and even Peel refused to act with him, but their resignation was somewhat compensated for by the accession of some of the Whigs. Canning had just time to make the Treaty of London with France and Russia that resulted later in the destruction of the Turco-Egyptian fleet at the battle of Navarino and the freedom of Greece, when he died suddenly, his other ambitions being ruined by his untimely death. The new Premier, Lord Goderich, was useless to restrain Huskisson and the Canningites, and in a few weeks had to make way for the High Tory Ministry of the Duke of Wellington, with Peel as Home Secretary. The Canningites had to yield outwardly, but the movement for moderate reform was henceforth never really stopped.

Early in 1828 Lord John Russell carried a motion in the House of Commons in favour of the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and an Act of Repeal so far as the two laws affected Protestant Dissenters was passed with unexpected ease. However, the grievances of Protestant Dissenters were little more than nominal, since Pitt and his successors, though Tories, had not departed from the custom, introduced by Walpole, of passing annually an Act indemnifying those Protestant Dissenters who could not conscientiously practise even occasional conformity. Roman Catholics had far more substantial grievances, especially in Ireland, where, although they were in a large majority, they could not be represented at Westminster by one of their own faith. The House of Commons, despite its Tory majority, was far less hostile to the proposed repeal of religious tests than the House of Lords. Indeed, under Lord Liverpool's administration in 1823 Daniel O'Connell, an Irish barrister, had formed the Catholic Association in Ireland to strengthen by judicious and orderly demonstrations the party in Parliament that was favourable to relief. Although at first rather a "stage army," the Association became so strong by 1825 that it was formally suppressed for three years by Act of Parliament. Outwardly O'Connell submitted, but he re-formed the Association under another name, and in

the same year Sir Francis Burdett carried a Roman Catholic Relief Bill in the Commons by 248 to 227. The Tories were somewhat propitiated by the double proposal to disfranchise the Irish forty-shilling freeholder and to endow the Roman Catholic priesthood in Ireland with the object of diminishing the danger from the Roman Catholic members, but the King's brother, the Duke of York, led the Opposition in the House of Lords and the Bill was defeated.

However, the Duke of York died in 1827, and another powerful opponent, Lord Eldon, resigned soon afterwards. Canning's death the same year did not affect the views of his followers, and the Whigs had for many years supported repeal. Lord John Russell's success in freeing Protestant Dissenters from the penal statutes raised O'Connell's hopes, but when the Canningites quarrelled with Wellington on the question of the disfranchisement of certain rotten boroughs and resigned, the Roman Catholic leader could wait no longer. He got himself nominated against Vesey Fitzgerald, the popular member for Clare, who had to seek re-election on being appointed to office in the reconstructed ministry. O'Connell was, of course, triumphantly elected by the Roman Catholic voters, and although, being a Roman Catholic, he could not take his seat at Westminster, he had confronted Wellington and Peel with a problem which they, wiser than their followers, soon realized could only be solved by surrender or civil strife. In 1829 Peel once more formally suppressed O'Connell's Association, and then brought into the House of Commons a Bill which conferred upon Roman Catholics the right to sit in Parliament, although it was coupled later with an Act which disfranchised the Irish forty-shilling freeholders. Wellington took care that it passed the House of Lords, despite the complaints of betrayal raised by the High Tories. George IV's protests were easily overborne, but by an Act of stupid meanness O'Connell had to be re-elected before he could take his seat for Clare. Naturally he used the new Irish Party at Westminster to extort all possible concessions from the succeeding Whig Ministries, and before long he began a fresh agitation for the repeal of the Union of 1800, though in his own lifetime he met with little success.

Wellington had acquiesced in Roman Catholic emancipation as a necessity, but he was far less liberal than Peel. In foreign affairs he largely reversed Canning's policy; he apologized for

the destruction of the Turco-Egyptian fleet at Navarino; he opposed the concession of a strategic frontier to Greece, and he even refused to protect the Portuguese Constitution from the Absolutist Pretender Dom Miguel. Naturally he steadily refused to consider the possibility of parliamentary reform, and even Peel contented himself with internal reforms, one of the most famous of which was the establishment of a new and disciplined police force for London to take the place of the old watchmen, or "Charlies" who, armed only with lamp and pole, had acted as the sole and very inefficient guardians of the peace. When George IV died at the end of June 1830 Parliament was *ipso facto* dissolved. Before the new Parliament met the July Revolution broke out in France, and the professedly liberal Louis Philippe replaced his reactionary cousin Charles X on the throne. In consequence of events in France the cry for reform was now raised more loudly than ever in England, but when Wellington met the new Parliament in November he went out of his way to maintain that "the legislature and the system of representation deservedly possessed the full and entire confidence of the country." The Duke was at once defeated on the question of the civil list, and resigned. William IV, the new king, won considerable popularity by giving the Premiership to Earl Grey, the Whig leader, who for forty years had been preaching the need of reform. Grey accepted both Whigs and Canningites as colleagues, but he made the condition that the Cabinet should work for reform. Huskisson had just died from an accident at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, but the surviving Canningites had ceased to fear reform.

On March 1, 1831, Lord John Russell introduced the Reform Bill into the House of Commons, and on the 21st, after fierce debates, it was carried by 302 votes to 301. Next month the Government were defeated "in Committee" when the details of the scheme were being discussed, and at once the Premier obtained a dissolution of Parliament from the King and came back with a great majority in the new Parliament the following June. As a result, the Reform Bill was carried on its third reading in the House of Commons by 345 votes to 236, but the House of Lords rejected it by 199 votes to 158. The debate in the House of Commons, stormy though it was, proved to be mild in comparison with the outburst of indignation and threats that now occurred throughout the country.

The Radical reformers had been with difficulty persuaded to repress their extreme demands until the first instalment of reform had been carried. Now rioters burnt down Nottingham Castle and there were disturbances everywhere, especially at Bristol, where great damage was done by the mob. A proclamation ordered the suppression of the Political Unions that had been formed in many of the large towns to support the cause of reform, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to prosecute Cobbett, the Radical journalist, on account of the violence of his writings, but the ministry decided to press forward their own moderate Bill.

In December 1831 the third version of the Reform Bill was carried on the second reading in the House of Commons by 162, and then Parliament adjourned for Christmas. By March 1832 the Bill finally left the Commons and actually passed its second reading in the House of Lords next month by 184 votes to 175. However, formal protests by seventy seven peers gave ominous hints. The Political Unions redoubled their exertions. A very large meeting in support of the Bill was held at Birmingham, and the National Union threatened that if the Lords again threw out the Bill the payment of taxes might cease and a revolution break out. When the Lords in Committee carried a motion against the Government, ministers offered the King their resignation as an alternative to his consent to swamp the opposition in the House of Lords by creating sufficient new peers. William IV—"Silly Billy," as he was sometimes irreverently styled—had allowed his good nature and love of popularity to deceive men into believing that he really favoured reform, but now he accepted the ministers' resignation and asked the Duke of Wellington to take Grey's place.

At once the storm broke out more furiously than ever. The middle class of merchants and shopkeepers in London were eager for the Bill on personal grounds, and they also feared the rioting that threatened to recur. The Duke bravely attempted to carry out the King's wish, but discovered that desirable colleagues were by no means eager to join in the struggle against the House of Commons and the nation. Meanwhile Place, the Radical wire-puller, had found the task of repressing the extreme reformers and of preventing riots in London more and more difficult, and now, as the last available plan for ruining the Duke's attempt to complete his ministry, he cleverly engineered a run on the Bank of England. A number of

trusty followers were told to display as widely as possible a printed sheet bearing the words: "To stop the Duke, go for gold." The scheme was so successful that at last even the Duke saw that if he persisted in taking office there would be grave financial and probably political disorder also. He gave up the task, and the King sent for Earl Grey and, after some haggling, agreed to create peers if that step should prove necessary. Actually, Grey confessed afterwards, he would probably have been reluctant to press the King to keep his word, but Wellington had the good sense not to let matters go to a crisis. When the Bill came up again in June 1832 the Duke led a hundred of his followers out of the House of Lords before the division, and the Reform Bill finally passed by 106 votes to 22.

The first Reform Bill was by no means a Radical measure, and would certainly in most details have secured the support of Pitt. It disfranchised entirely fifty-six "rotten" boroughs which had returned 111 members, and deprived of one member each about half that number. Hitherto there had been constituencies, such as Old Sarum, where a green mound, or, as Gatton, where a ruined wall was represented by two members, and one constituency, Dunwich, had actually long ago sunk beneath the sea. The 143 seats thus made available were redistributed partly among the counties, but the greater number went to give two members each to the large unenfranchised towns, such as Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds, and one member each to certain smaller towns. The question of the franchise was not so easy, for under the old system the forty-shilling freeholder who possessed the county vote was represented in the towns by a variety of claimants. In some constituencies, such as Preston and Westminster, there was practically household franchise, while in others the vote was confined to the freemen of the borough, generally few in number, or even to the members of the corporation or civic governing body. There were also cases where those who owned certain special "burgage holdings" had votes, or, as in the case of the "pot-wallers" of Taunton, where the possession of a household fire conferred the franchise.

By the Reform Bill the old forty-shilling freehold was left as a qualification for a county vote, but now the franchise was also bestowed on copyholders and leaseholders for a term of years, and to conciliate the landowners the Chandos clause was

added, which allowed "tenants-at-will"—the ordinary tenant farmers—to vote if they paid £50 a year in rent. The borough franchise was made uniform and became restricted to householders who paid £10 a year in rent, although with certain restrictions existing freemen retained their right to vote. Similar Reform Bills were passed for Ireland and Scotland. In Scotland, the 45 members were increased to 53, of whom 30 sat for the counties, while the number of Irish members became 105 instead of 100; and in each country a somewhat lower standard of wealth than that in England determined the franchise.

The first Reform Bill had been carried by a union of the Radicals, the Whigs, and the Moderate Tories. By the former, it was accepted only as an instalment of better things. They expected that their allies would speedily admit them to the charmed circle of voters, but many of the Whigs, even Russell and Macaulay, demurred at any further immediate extension of reform. However, they had themselves made the breach in the old constitution, and it was impossible to pretend that there was anything sacrosanct or final about the ten-pound franchise.

The comparatively peaceful character of the political revolution in England was due largely to the influence of the religious revolution which went on side by side with it. During the rule of the Whig oligarchy "enthusiasm" had been frowned upon by those in authority, and although personal religion was by no means so rare in the eighteenth century as is sometimes supposed, both the Church and the Dissenters were content to defend revealed religion against the Deists on the ground of its reasonableness. However, John Wesley was to the religious world what young William Pitt was to the political world under Walpole, the preacher of a higher ideal. Wesley was the son of a Lincolnshire clergyman, and was educated at the Charterhouse and Oxford. He took Holy Orders, and in 1729 became Fellow of Lincoln College. Here for a few years he, with his brother Charles, the hymn-writer, and a few kindred spirits attempted to regulate their life according to the rules of the Anglican Church, and won the nickname of the "Holy Club" and the "Methodists." However, Wesley's active mind was not content with the saving of his own soul, and after discovering by experience that he was unfit for the work of a missionary to the heathen abroad, he returned to England, and in 1739 began his wonderful mission to the heathen at home.

Wesley was nobly aided by his brother Charles and his friend George Whitefield, and down to his death in 1791 he travelled about England preaching, generally in the open air, to any who would listen. He was a member of the Church of England—in fact a High Churchman—down to the day of his death; but his unconventional methods and, it must be admitted, a marked tendency to resent control, caused him at first to meet with a mixed reception, especially from the clergy whose parishes he invaded. However, before his death he had lived down opposition, and he exerted an important if indirect influence upon the clergy of the Church of England. Among the staid Anglican clergy there arose the great Evangelical movement associated with the names of Simeon and Venn, which kindled anew the flame of personal piety, and led its adherents to be foremost in good works, such as the amelioration of the lot of the poor, the conversion of the heathen by foreign missions, and the emancipation of the negro slave.

So long as Wesley lived he steadily refused to sanction any breach with the Anglican Church. The Methodist chapels and the Methodist classes and prayer meetings were alike intended to supplement the work of that Church. He claimed the right to differ from it in detail, and the innovations he sanctioned led finally, after his death, to the open secession of his followers from the Church, and to the foundation of new Methodist organizations. However, Wesley's work was not purely religious, for he took a keen interest in the conditions of the lower classes amongst whom he travelled, and he promoted a kindlier relationship between the ranks of society, especially by the feeling of brotherhood and mutual responsibility upon which he laid such stress. When the French Revolution broke out Wesley's innate conservatism led him to set his face against the new movement, and he influenced his followers in the same direction. The parent Wesleyan body has ever been the most conservative of the sects, and its influence on the working classes during the early nineteenth century cannot be easily overestimated. The English proletariat never lost hope or confidence, as did the French, in their nation's religion and institutions, and the Evangelical revival in turn led the upper classes to desire to help their poorer brethren to obtain happier conditions of life.

SECTION IV. THE AGE OF DEMOCRACY, 1832–1914

CHAPTER I

THE MAKING OF THE DEMOCRACY

The first Reform Act of 1832 placed political power in the hands of the middle classes, although the phrase was interpreted far more liberally than in the case of the bourgeoisie who theoretically ruled through Louis Philippe in France. When the new Parliament met in January 1833 the Opposition only numbered 172, while Grey had 486 followers, ranging from Whigs to extreme Radicals. The majority were full of reforming zeal at first. An Act modified the member's oath so as to admit all but avowed non-Christians to sit in the House of Commons, and the House of Commons even persevered yearly in an attempt to admit Jews, until 1858, when the Lords assented to a working compromise. Morning sittings were adopted to expedite business, and Acts were passed in quick succession to abolish slavery, to regulate the work of children in factories, to make an annual grant towards education, and early in 1834 the great Poor Law Amendment Act was passed by 319 votes to 20. This legislation will be referred to in more detail later, and it was largely the cause of the ministry's downfall, as each of the Acts offended powerful interests. The crisis came, as often later, over an Irish question.

Lord Grey maintained that over 9000 crimes had been committed in Ireland in 1832, and a Coercion Bill was passed to strengthen the hands of the Executive. However, the Government fell foul of the supporters of the Irish Church in attempting legislation to please the Roman Catholics, which involved partial disendowment, and they were not able to prevent O'Connell from continuing his agitation for the repeal

of the Union. When Lord John Russell declared that "Parliament had the right to apply the misused revenues of the Irish Church to other purposes" many churchmen objected, and in the words of Lord Stanley: "Johnny upset the coach." Grey was quite unfit for keeping order in a ministry where his own son-in-law, Lord Durham, a pronounced Radical, was one of the chief offenders; and when Lord Althorp, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, resigned rather than allow the Coercion Act to be renewed, the resignation of Grey followed.

The new premier was the Moderate Whig Lord Melbourne. He kept the ministry, including Althorp, together for a short time, but William IV, who had grown tired of the new legislative turmoil, used the death of Althorp's father, Earl Spencer, as an excuse to dismiss Melbourne and his colleagues. He asked Sir Robert Peel to form a ministry, and the latter, although in a minority in the Commons, consented. However, he was not without some prospect of ultimate success after his famous "Tamworth Manifesto" to his constituents. In it he frankly renounced the old Tory policy of obstruction, and professed to be willing to agree to moderate and conservative reform. His followers began to call themselves Conservatives, a more popular name than Tories, and without the latter's invidious associations. The Whigs, endeavouring to conceal their internal divisions, had already adopted the continental term "Liberals" to describe their own party. The Conservatives, under Peel's leadership, regained much lost ground at the general election, and when Parliament met in February 1835 had 273 members to Melbourne's 380. Now, as premier, Peel calmly disregarded formal defeats until he had shown the electors that his proposals for reform were worthy of consideration, but when, in April, Russell carried a motion to utilize Irish Church revenues partly for secular objects he resigned.

Lord Melbourne again became premier, but even a more energetic man than he would have found the position difficult in face of an able opponent such as Peel. There was continual trouble over Ireland, and as the ministry was partly dependent on O'Connell and his "tail" of Irish members its hands were not free. In 1835 the Municipal Corporations Reform Act was passed, and with the exception of London the corporate towns received a fairly liberal charter of self-government in place of the old burgher oligarchies, who had

plundered them even when they had been too lazy actively to misgovern them. However, even this Act was passed largely with Peel's assistance, and the ministry mismanaged affairs in Canada as hopelessly as in Ireland and England. The House of Lords easily defied Melbourne, for it was clear that he had lost the support of the constituencies and did not dare to appeal to them against the Opposition.

In 1837 William IV died, and his niece, the Princess Victoria, came to the throne. In the new Parliament of November 1837 Melbourne's nominal majority was 38, but he only passed the Irish Tithe Act by abandoning the important appropriation clause, although a Royal Commission had revealed how little use the Irish population made of the State Church in some parts of the land. The High Commissioner, Lord Durham, who had been sent to deal with the troubles in Canada, came back and quarrelled with the ministry; and the Radicals in England this year, 1838, first published the People's Charter demanding reforms which Melbourne could not possibly grant. In 1839 fresh trouble came: the ministry proposed to suspend the Representative Constitution of Jamaica, as the emancipation of the slaves had made it difficult to work, and in the face of an alliance between Peel and the Radicals Melbourne's majority sank to five. Sir Robert Peel was invited to take office, but he finally refused, as the Queen showed considerable resentment at a demand for the dismissal of certain Whig "Ladies of the Bedchamber," whose influence he considered would be detrimental to his party's interests. Melbourne returned to office, but although the sympathy of the country was with the Queen, the ministry was weaker than ever.

Lord Melbourne's laziness and inattention to business were often largely a pose, and although be was never a strong or popular premier he rose nobly to the occasion when Princess Victoria succeeded to the throne. The prestige of the English monarchy had sunk very low by 1837. George III's repeated attacks of mental trouble made men forget his earlier days, and both as prince regent and as king George IV only won the scorn of honest men by his dissolute way of living. Even William IV's early popularity soon vanished when he turned from the reformers, and on the accession of Victoria there were many shrewd observers both in England and abroad who saw in the first Reform Act but the prelude to a republic.

It was due largely to Melbourne that the Queen in those early dangerous years learnt to play so perfectly the part of a constitutional monarch. Her youth and evident desire to do right won for her considerable personal popularity. Even the hardened politicians of the age felt themselves bound to follow Melbourne's lead in putting constraint upon themselves under the new conditions, and there was nothing of the courtier about the Tory leader Peel to tempt the new sovereign away from her Whig ministers. Victoria became a Whig sovereign under the tuition of Melbourne and her uncle Leopold, who had become King of the Belgians in 1830. Early in 1840 she married a Whig husband, her cousin Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, who easily contented himself with the title of Prince Consort, but found no difficulty in taking over Melbourne's position of confidential adviser of the young Queen. Before his untimely death in 1861 the Prince Consort had reconciled even Radicals to the constitutional monarchy, and he left his widow ready to accept with a good grace if not with good will further extensions of the franchise. It was well for England that in those critical years she possessed a Queen of whose good intentions there could be no dispute, and whose political sagacity, although not normally of the highest order, had ripened during the long course of her reign until it won for her a degree of influence with her ministers seldom allowed so willingly to previous sovereigns.

When the Queen married, Melbourne's work was done, although he remained in office until August 1841. During his second ministry the only important Acts passed were one to establish the Penny Post, largely the result of the efforts of Rowland Hill, and another which after six years of wrangling between the Lords and the Commons reformed the Irish Municipal Corporations. In all else the period was one of unrelieved failure and even disorder. The legislation of the reformed Parliament had indeed been satisfactory to its middle-class constituents, and even Lord John Russell insisted that the Reform Bill was a final settlement. For this he won the nickname of "Finality Jack" and the bitter hatred of the Radicals, who accused him of betraying the cause. Their "People's Charter" already referred to demanded six points: (i) universal suffrage; (ii) vote by ballot; (iii) annual Parliaments; (iv) payment of members; (v) abolition of the property qualification for a seat in Parliament, and (vi) equal electoral

districts. The condition of the lower classes indeed cried out for reform ; bad harvests and the unwise corn law had raised the price of wheat from about £2 a quarter in 1835 to £3 10*s.* in 1839, and many of the poorer artisans lived in big towns without sanitation and often in wretched cellar dwellings. Poverty produced overcrowding, and probably was responsible partly for drunkenness and even worse vices. Wages were low even when work was to be had, and were sometimes paid in kind at great loss to the workers despite the law against "truck," as it was called. In 1839 there was wild talk among the "physical force" Chartists, and a few misguided men led by Frost actually attempted an insurrection at Newport, Monmouthshire, in November, and a riot also occurred at Birmingham.

By the summer of 1841 agitations arose against the Corn Laws, and the ministry, being defeated on the sugar duty, went to the constituencies and met with an even greater defeat there. Sir Robert Peel was recalled, and in the new House of Commons had a majority of 367 to 286. Ripon, Stanley, and Graham seceded to him from the Whigs, and a strong ministry was formed. Peel was a fitting leader of his able colleagues, for he possessed most of the gifts necessary in a parliamentary leader and sufficient energy and business ability to enable him to keep in touch with and control the work of his subordinates. A strong premier was required, for there were difficult foreign problems and a most pressing domestic problem. The prevailing depression in trade threatened to end in sedition, for the Chartists had able leaders in Feargus O'Connor, the Irish journalist, and Ernest Jones the barrister. Peel adopted heroic remedies. He imposed an income-tax of 7*d.* in the £ by which he not only wiped out the deficit on the revenue, but also carried through pressing reforms in the tariff on the lines of Huskisson. Unlike Melbourne, he had no cause to truckle to O'Connell, and when the latter attempted to hold a meeting in favour of repeal at Clontarf, near Dublin, he was arrested, but his former experience in Ireland led Peel to make a grant to the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth and also to order an investigation into the Irish Land question. It was Peel's misfortune that Ireland, which he desired to help, proved his undoing also.

The anti-Corn Law agitation had never ceased since the

League was founded in 1838. The sliding scale of 1826 had not materially remedied the defects of the law of 1815, and Peel himself was not insensible to the actual situation though, like Melbourne and many of the Whigs, he felt that on national grounds the agricultural interest should not be left wholly without protection. One of Peel's first measures had been a sliding scale of import duties which varied inversely with the price of wheat, so that only 1*s.* duty was payable when the price was 73*s.* a quarter. He preferred this scheme to the Whig proposal of a fixed duty, but the intention common to both was to keep the price of wheat steady. In 1845 successive surpluses of revenue for three years encouraged Peel to renew the income-tax and further decrease or abolish import duties; export duties were completely wiped out. The Conservative country gentry began to object when Peel proposed to abolish the import duties on hides and lard, and, championed by the able though hitherto unimportant Benjamin Disraeli, demand complete protection for English agriculture. Peel treated with contempt Disraeli's gibe that "he had caught the Whigs bathing and had run away with their clothes," and that his "Conservative Government was an organized hypocrisy." The attack on his own want of original ideas did not trouble Peel, who, like the younger Pitt, was always willing to learn, and had reached the point when he was convinced that trade in manufactures should be as "free" as possible; but he was not yet convinced that free trade in corn would really make bread cheaper permanently, although it might make the country weaker in time of war. However, with Peel abstract principles counted far less than expediency, and he would probably have altered his sliding scale yet more drastically had not the Irish potato disease of 1845 brought things to a crisis.

Both Great Britain and Ireland were affected, but in Ireland the potato was the chief food of about half the population of 8,000,000. The only hope of mitigating the inevitable famine in Ireland was to abolish the corn duty so as to increase the supply of cheaper corn. By October 1845 Peel felt bound to propose this abolition to his colleagues, but before he could convert a majority of the Cabinet, Russell, the Whig leader, had in November issued his "Edinburgh Letter" proposing total repeal of the Corn Laws instead of the old Whig scheme of a low fixed duty. On December 5 Peel, finding his Cabinet

obdurate, resigned office; but soon afterwards, as Russell could not form a ministry, since Grey and Palmerston could not work together, he again became premier with the avowed intention of repealing the Corn Laws. His action hopelessly wrecked his new Conservative Party, for, although Russell guaranteed him sufficient support to carry his proposal, Lord Stanley resigned to become leader of the Protectionist Party, which defended the Corn Laws. Gladstone took Stanley's place, but although the Protectionists only mustered 229 votes to Peel's 327 and the majority for the Bill in the Lords was 47, Peel's race was run.

He had done all he could to help the Irish peasantry; corn was sold cheaply, and public works were started to give the poorest a chance to earn enough to buy food. However, the agrarian difficulty was still present, and the evicted tenants replied by murder and outrage on their apparent oppressors. One of Peel's early Acts in 1843 had tried to check the custom of importing and using fire-arms by a system of licences; he had later appointed a commission to inquire into the peasants' grievances, and on the eve of the famine had only been prevented by the opposition of the House of Lords from extending to all the Irish peasants the Ulster custom of tenant right, by which the outgoing tenant was compensated for unexhausted improvements. Like the Conservatives of a later day, his remedy for the Irish problem was strict justice and order coupled with a redress of all real grievances, but like many Englishmen he did not realize that the Irish would prefer to remedy the evils in their own perhaps less efficient way through a local Parliament. For the present Peel determined to carry a measure which was intended to increase the powers of the Executive to maintain order. Russell and the Liberals objected, while the Protectionists, led really by Disraeli in the Commons though nominally by Lord George Bentinck, seized the opportunity to get revenge on Peel for his betrayal. The House of Commons rejected his Irish Bill by 292 votes to 219 on the 25th of June, the very day on which his Corn Bill passed the House of Lords, and two days later Peel resigned.

For the next twenty years there followed a confused series of weak ministries. Peel had wrecked his party and his own career, but the so-called Liberal Party was in little better condition. Nominally, Russell was in power from June 1847 to February 1852. After a short ministry of less than a year Lord

Derby—formerly Lord Stanley, and Peel's successor as leader of the Conservatives—was succeeded by a Whig-Peelite coalition under Lord Aberdeen, which lasted from December 1852 to January 1855. It was not a success, but neither Russell nor Derby could form a ministry without the Peelites, among whom Gladstone was rapidly coming to the front. Finally, early in 1855 Palmerston, who steadily opposed further parliamentary reform, found himself able to dispense with the Peelites in his new ministry. His vigorous foreign policy appealed to the nation, and at the election of April 1857 he won a largely personal following of 366 and a majority of 79. From February 1858 to June 1859 Derby was once more in office though not in power, for Palmerston had only resigned on account of an attempt to conciliate Napoleon III which was resented by the House of Commons. Despite her personal suspicion of Palmerston, Queen Victoria had to accept him as premier until his death in October 1865. Then the question of parliamentary reform once more came up, and Gladstone, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer under Palmerston, became leader of the House of Commons. Russell's second ministry at once introduced a Reform Bill. The secession of a number of Whigs gave the nominal honour of passing the second Reform Act to the Derby-Disraeli Ministry, but by the general election of November 1868 Gladstone obtained the decisive majority of 393 to 265. Now that the electorate was no longer drawn so exclusively from the middle classes, distinct party lines once more became visible.

Russell's first ministry, which began in June 1847, was by no means an unmixed success. The Peelites and the Protectionists would have had a majority of six after the election of November 1847 if they could have acted together, but Russell could generally count on sufficient support from the 105 Peelites to give him a fairly free hand. However, the Irish potato famine was followed by wholesale emigration in 1847, and although the Government made a grant of £10,000,000 for purposes of relief there was widespread distress. It was an ill omen for the new ministry that it had to obtain from Parliament by the help of the Peelites a Coercion Bill on the lines of that which caused the downfall of Peel's administration, and that Russell's second attempt to copy Peel and increase the income-tax had to be withdrawn.

There was worse to follow. In 1848 all Europe was con-

vulsed by revolution, beginning with the fall of the July monarchy of Louis Philippe in February 1848. The Chartists, who had never ceased their agitation and secret drillings, grew hopeful that they would be able to exact at least some of their demands. Feargus O'Connor's newspaper, the *Northern Star*, obtained a large circulation for those days. O'Connor, himself a Member of Parliament, professed to deprecate any resort to physical force, and advocated the signing of a monster petition which he hoped to present to Parliament backed by a large crowd. He summoned a meeting of Chartists on Kennington Common, the site of the present Surrey county cricket ground, on the 10th of April, and it was announced that the petition contained over five and a half million signatures. The Government, in alarm, declared the proposed public presentation of the petition to be illegal, but wisely entrusted the task of stopping the procession to the 200,000 special constables that were sworn in, and the military, designed for use only in the last resort, were kept out of sight by the Duke of Wellington.

The actual meeting was as big a fiasco as the petition itself. A furious rainstorm reduced the spectators to about 25,000, including many non-Chartists, and with its attendant procession cleverly headed off by the special constables the monster petition had to accompany O'Connor to Westminster in a cab. When the names were in due course examined they were found to fall very far short of the alleged number; whole columns of the petition were in the same handwriting, and of the actual signatures many were plainly fictitious, some being the names of prominent non-Chartists, such as the Duke of Wellington, and others, such as "Pugnose" and "Wooden-legs," being evidently the work of would-be jesters at the Chartists' expense. It is now known that the quarrels of the Chartists which ultimately caused the decay of the party were largely due to the increasing mental troubles of O'Connor, whose extravagances were part of the symptoms of the obscure disease from which he finally died. However, despite the apparent failure of the Chartists, there was, as Carlyle saw, really a very important "condition of England" question which neither Russell nor his middle-class opponents could solve by any short and easy method. Chartism was but one of the symptoms of the economic and social revolution that was being worked out during the nineteenth century. The Chartists' faith in their "six

points" as a panacea for all evils in the State has not been justified by events; four of the six points have been conceded wholly, at least in theory, while the other two, annual Parliaments and universal suffrage, have no considerable body of weighty opinion behind them to-day. However, Chartism does not deserve the half-contemptuous treatment usually accorded to it, for it has been justified by events at least in its opposition to the view that the Reform Act of 1832 was necessarily final.

Meanwhile Chartism in England was paralleled by attempted rebellion in Ireland. O'Connell had always steadfastly set his face against open violence, but Peel's strong measures copied by Russell had helped the Famine to bring matters to a crisis among the more extreme advocates of repeal. The "Young Ireland Party," as they called themselves, renounced O'Connell's peaceful methods, and, fired by the writings of Mitchel in the *United Irishman* newspaper, actually attempted an armed rising by attacking a police station. The nominal leader, Smith O'Brien, who boasted of his descent from ancient Irish kings, was taken prisoner in a cabbage garden. Mitchel, his friend, arrested and tried before the actual rising, obtained the benefit of the Treason Felony Act recently passed, receiving fourteen years penal servitude, while even Smith O'Brien got off with transportation, nominally for life. Russell had also passed in 1848 an Irish Encumbered Estates Act to facilitate the sale of the lands of impecunious squires, but the court that administered it could not prevent the land from passing to the highest bidder. As a result the peasantry found the new owners even stricter landlords, and great ill-feeling resulted. For a short time the Irish Tenant League, formed by men of both parties in 1850, promised to exact better conditions for the peasantry, but during the Aberdeen Ministry in 1852 party feeling ruined the league. Henceforth the Irish question slowly but surely took on a political aspect, and the old Repeal Party of O'Connell and the economic movement for tenant right or dual ownership became merged in the Home Rule movement, which frankly used the Irish members at Westminster as counters for bargaining with the British parties on the principle that "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity."

During 1850 and 1851 the aristocratic Whig Ministry of Russell was tottering to its fall. After it had repealed the last traces of the old restrictive commercial system—the Navigation

Acts—in 1849, the alliance with the Peelites began to weaken. Disraeli only failed by twenty-one votes to carry a motion that a committee should be formed to inquire into his statement that the existing agricultural distress was the result of free trade. Gladstone supported Disraeli, but Peel opposed him. Unfortunately for Russell, Peel died in July 1850, and Russell got across with many Peelites almost immediately on his attitude to a papal bull which professed to create Roman Catholic bishoprics in England. His Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was passed next year, 1851, but remained inoperative. Russell had actually been defeated on opposing a scheme to assimilate the county to the borough franchise, but as yet Lord Stanley and Disraeli were unable to form a ministry, although a Protectionist resolution of Disraeli only failed by fourteen votes, and the Budget was badly received.

Another influence that told against the Whigs in the long run was the Tractarian movement, or High Church revival, which is generally dated from Keble's famous assize sermon of 1833, in itself a reply to the proposed interference of the Irish Church Commission with Church revenues. Newman, Manning, Pusey, Keble, and Froude are the great names connected with the Tractarian Party, which gained its name from the issue of a number of tracts defending the claims of the Church to a spiritual and corporate life free from the interference of the State. The new party was really a strengthening and revival of ideas which had been persistently repressed since Convocation, the High Church stronghold, had been suspended by the Whigs in 1717. The early Victorian bishops steadily frowned on the Tractarians, and their attitude led to the secession of Newman, Manning, and Froude, but Pusey and Keble reorganized the party, and by their personal piety and learning ultimately made it the most important section of the clergy. By 1850 they had forced Russell to allow Convocation to meet, and though its legal power was small it indirectly rallied the defenders of the Church against further Whig attempts at interference.

The crisis in the ministry came at the end of 1852. Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary, had little sympathy with extreme Liberal movements, and the continental anarchy during 1848 and 1849 disposed him to welcome the success of Napoleon III in France. Already in 1850 Palmerston had been sternly rebuked by the Queen in a famous memorandum

for acting without first consulting her wishes, and when, in December 1851, Palmerston on his own responsibility recognized the *coup d'état* of Napoleon III, Russell had formally to dismiss him. Palmerston got his revenge in January 1852 by defeating the ministry on the Militia Bill, and Russell had to resign. For the rest of the year Stanley, now Lord Derby, was premier on sufferance from the Peelites, who still numbered forty after the general election, but Disraeli's Budget won no favour, and in December 1852 Lord Aberdeen formed a Coalition Ministry of Whigs and Peelites.

Disraeli could wait: "England does not love coalitions," he said, and Aberdeen's Ministry failed to break down that prejudice. Gladstone, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought in his first Budget in the spirit of Peel, but the Crimean War broke out in 1854, and the Aberdeen Ministry had to pay for the neglect of military and naval preparations by its predecessors. Englishmen had long ceased to believe in the possibility of war during the long peace of forty years. In 1851, under the auspices of the Prince Consort, the first exhibition had been held in the "Crystal Palace," which Paxton had erected in Hyde Park, and Cobden and Bright hoped and led men to believe that future rivalry among nations would be solely in the arts of peace. Actually Europe was on the verge of the long succession of wars that culminated in the armed truce of Europe, when Prussia, by the treaty of Frankfort, had failed to bleed France white. Attacked by Lord Derby in the House of Lords, and by Russell, the war correspondent, in the *Times*, the Aberdeen Ministry resigned in disgrace, but neither Derby nor Russell could replace it, and in the general exhaustion of middle-class party politicians the strong man Palmerston came to his own.

The Whigs and Liberals of all shades rallied round the one man who knew his own mind, and the country in 1857 rejected the leaders of the Peace Party and gave the Premier a majority of 366 to 287. Palmerston frankly opposed all schemes for altering the settlement of 1832, and the period is almost barren of internal reform. Scarcely had the Crimean War been ended than troubles occurred in China, followed quickly by the Indian Mutiny. Before the Mutiny was over Palmerston had fallen into temporary disfavour with the Commons by bringing in a Bill which proposed to make conspiracy to murder a felony. The Bill was designed to prevent such

attempts as that of Orsini to murder Napoleon III, which had been planned by conspirators in London, but the Liberals looked on it as dangerous truckling to tyrants. However, Derby's Ministry did not last long, and fell on the question of an ingenious attempt to manipulate the franchise in its own favour under cover of a Reform Bill. Against the wishes of the Queen Palmerston came back, and though he failed to muzzle Cobden by the offer of the Board of Trade, he persuaded Gladstone, the ablest of the Peelites, to become Chancellor of the Exchequer, and down to his death in October 1865 he was practically dictator of England. Gladstone was allowed to continue his free trade policy, and the Reciprocity Treaty which Cobden negotiated with France in 1860 was part of it. When the proposal to abolish the paper duty was only carried in the House of Commons by 219 votes to 210, the House of Lords ventured to throw it out by 193 to 104. As the proposal was a Money Bill in all but name, there were loud outcries from the Commons at the Lords' breach of one of the conventions of the constitution. Palmerston was not sorry to have an excuse to emphasize the power of the Commons, and so of the Premier and his Cabinet; he accordingly moved and carried resolutions which insisted on the right of the House of Commons so to frame their Bills that the House of Lords could not repeat the late experiment. Next year, 1861, accordingly the whole financial scheme of the ministry was drawn up as one Bill, and despite the formal protests of ten peers the House of Lords had to pass the paper duty as part of the annual Budget; it was fifty years before the Lords took up the challenge again and rejected the Budget, with disastrous results to themselves.

When Lord Palmerston died his nominal successor was Lord John Russell—now, since 1861, Earl Russell—but, as Palmerston had foreseen, Gladstone "soon had his way," and when he got control there were indeed "strange doings" from the Whig point of view. In the new Parliament of 1866 there were 361 Liberals of all shades and 294 Conservatives, the latter fast learning from Disraeli to give their old Protectionist theories a mere nominal allegiance. Party lines were becoming strangely blurred, and men boasted of being Conservative-Liberals or Liberal-Conservatives. The material prosperity of Palmerston's regime had produced a curious optimism, or rather "meliorism," and there were few middle-class Members

of Parliament who disputed that reform in some shape or other was bound to come. Gladstone's eloquence coined epigrammatic phrases which convinced the "classes" that, as the "masses" had no interests really antagonistic to their own, they could safely be admitted to the franchise. Many of the more skilled artisans were now organized in strong trade unions, which had their own quarrel with the bourgeois electorate of the towns, and looked to the possession of the franchise as a means of bettering their own economic condition.

In March 1866 Gladstone introduced his Reform Bill, and at once a party of Whigs, led by Robert Lowe, retired, as Bright said, to their "Cave of Adullam," and, like David of old, invited as companions all who were discontented with the ministry's proposals. Lowe had seen democracy at work both in Australia and the United States, and judged it by its least favourable manifestations there. Gladstone had proposed to confer the vote on all occupiers in the counties who paid £14 a year rent, and on all occupiers in towns at a £7 rental; even lodgers who paid £10 yearly were to be allowed to vote. The Adullamite Lord Dunkellin finally carried an amendment substituting "rating" for "rental," and, as that would make the Bill less liberal, the Government resigned to prove its earnestness, June 1866. For the third time a stopgap Derby-Disraeli Ministry came into office, but Disraeli now determined to "dish the Whigs," as he put it. He would have preferred a longer time to educate his party for acceptance of the extended franchise, which he saw must come, but the Reform demonstrations of the trade unionists and Liberals, and especially the riot in Hyde Park early in 1867, were sufficient to prove to him that there was no time to lose.

Accordingly, he proposed a series of resolutions on the principles of the forthcoming Bill, but neither his resolutions nor the Bill he sketched were suitable. There was considerable disagreement in the Conservative Party as to the extent that reform should go; and when Disraeli, after a stormy meeting of his Cabinet, introduced the hastily-drawn-up measure known as the "Ten-minutes Bill" it was stigmatized as a "leap in the dark" even by Lord Derby, and as "shooting Niagara" by Lord Cranborne — the later Marquis of Salisbury — who insisted on resigning. Disraeli had to allow the Liberal majority in the Commons to sweep away his scheme of "fancy

franchises" by which education and thrift would be recognized, and the Bill ended by conferring the franchise on all occupiers in towns assessed to the relief of the poor, except in Ireland, where a £4 rating qualification was demanded. Lodgers who occupied the same rooms and paid £10 clear in rent might also vote, and in the counties a £12 rental provided the right to vote. There was a partial redistribution of seats to the advantage of the larger towns. It is interesting to note that Mill's amendment in favour of female suffrage was defeated by 196 to 73. The House of Lords accepted the remodelled Bill when the Commons agreed to insert a clause providing for the representation of minorities by the curious expedient of three-cornered constituencies, where each elector might only vote for two candidates. Other Bills made small alterations in the electoral system of Scotland and Ireland. The second Reform Bill established democracy at least in the towns, and it was England's good fortune that many of the new electors had already learnt self-control and self-government in their trade unions. Lowe had sneered at the people who "lived in small houses," but when the Bill was passed he re-echoed Brougham's words of an earlier date: "Now we must at least educate our new masters." As each of the two historic parties had able leaders — Gladstone and Disraeli — the democracy naturally divided its allegiance between them, and no violent revolution occurred, despite men's fears.

Ireland was still a storm centre, however. Discontent had been smouldering since the failure of Young Ireland in 1848, and many of the Irish emigrants who went to America after the famine had served in the American Civil War and learnt their own value as soldiers. Perhaps they rated their power too high when, in 1863, they and some American sympathizers formed the Society of the Fenians—traditionally the ancient militia of Ireland—and announced their intention to free Ireland by force. The presence of their agents, and indeed most of their plans, were revealed to the Government by spies. In 1866 the Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended in Ireland by Russell, and in 1867 the Fenians shot a police-sergeant in attempting to rescue Fenian prisoners in Manchester, and many innocent persons were killed by an attempt to rescue other prisoners from Clerkenwell Gaol by blowing down a wall with gunpowder. Three of the Fenians lost their lives by the hangman, and were styled martyrs, while many

others were imprisoned. An attempted invasion of Canada in the same year failed hopelessly. However, the Fenian movement had the result of calling Gladstone's attention to the undoubted grievances of Ireland. He carried a resolution to disestablish the Irish Church, and Disraeli, who had just formally succeeded Derby as premier, resigned.

In December 1868 Gladstone began his first ministry with a following of 393 Liberals to Disraeli's 265 Conservatives. As premier, his first tasks concerned Ireland. He carried through Parliament an Act to disestablish and partly disendow the Irish Church, despite strong opposition in England, in 1869, and next year he passed the Irish Land Act. By it the Ulster system of tenant right received a legal sanction, and tenants who were evicted for causes other than non-payment of rent were to receive compensation; compensation was also to be given for unexhausted improvements, and the Government offered to advance on loan two-thirds of the purchase money to any tenant whose landlord was willing to sell him the holding. Unfortunately, little advantage could be taken of the "land-purchase" clause, for, even when they were not induced to "contract out" of the Act altogether, few tenants were able to find one-third of the price and the necessary working capital in addition. Moreover, the Government felt compelled to couple the Land Act with a "Peace Preservation" Act. In the same year was founded the Irish "Home Government Association"—later, in 1873, known as the "Home Rule League"—with a professedly moderate programme; it declared that its sole objects were the advocacy of an Irish local Parliament under the Sovereign, with power to deal solely with Ireland's internal concerns, and "to attain such an adjustment of the relations between the two countries without any interference with the prerogatives of the Crown or any disturbance of the principles of the constitution." The disestablishment of the Irish Church had induced many Ulstermen to distrust the existing system, which had proved useless to protect them, and the Home Rule movement steadily gained in popularity under the leadership of the ex-Conservative barrister Isaac Butt, whose defence of the "Young Ireland" and Fenian prisoners had converted him to the Irish Nationalist movement. An Irish Home Rule Party was formed in the House of Commons, and, concentrated upon a definite political demand, the Irish problem persisted in forcing itself upon the two

English parties until it had become the burning question of the day.

In many other ways the Gladstone Ministry showed democratic tendencies. In 1870 it passed the first Elementary Education Act, and in the same year, on the recommendation of a Royal Commission, the majority of Civil Service appointments were thrown open to competition. Formerly, appointments to the Civil Service had been made by patronage—that is, were the rewards of political service gained through the influence of ministers and members of the two Houses of Parliament. The transition to the new system fortunately occurred before the new democracy had acquired a taste for the American custom of "spoils to the victors" irrespective of other than party claims. With some little difficulty the Government finally carried two other desirable reforms—the Abolition of Religious Tests at Oxford and Cambridge in 1871, and the Ballot Act in 1872. The former, after overcoming the resistance of the House of Lords, allowed a Dissenter to graduate at the two older Universities in any Faculty but that of Theology, and was a natural sequel to the Acts of 1828 and 1829. The Ballot Act was one of the Chartist demands, and was a reform long overdue; by it the system of open voting on the hustings was abolished, and the poor man was able to record his vote without fear of future victimization either by his superiors or his fellows. Already in 1858 another "point"—the abolition of the property qualification for Members of Parliament—had been conceded, and four years earlier a Corrupt Practices Act had attempted to lessen the illegal advantages conferred on a candidate by wealth. However, the new democracy showed no signs of ill-feeling towards such old-established institutions as the Church or the Monarchy. Since tithes had been commuted in 1836 and compulsory Church rates abolished in 1868, the Church gave little offence, and Miall's motion to disestablish the remaining Established Churches was crushingly defeated both in 1871 and 1873. Even theoretical republicanism was almost non-existent, except to a small extent among the northern artisans, although there were murmurs that the Queen, since the death of her husband in 1861, had consistently withdrawn herself from public life. However, when Dilke, in answer to a challenge, repeated in the House of Commons an attack made elsewhere on the cost of the monarchy, he was howled

down by all parties, and the dangerous illness of the Prince of Wales in 1871 called forth an unprecedented exhibition of national loyalty.

The ministry was not lacking in boldness, and attempted the difficult task of reforming both the army and the judicature. The Supreme Court of Judicature Act of 1873, which constituted one High Court of Justice and a Court of Appeal, was not seriously challenged, but it was far otherwise with the proposed army reforms. In 1870 the Commander-in-Chief was declared to be the subordinate of the Secretary for War, but when the ministry proposed a Bill to regulate the armed forces of the Crown and to abolish the practice of the purchase and sale of commissions in the army, the House of Lords objected, as the custom had the effect of making the commissioned ranks of the army a preserve of the aristocracy and richer classes. However, Gladstone was no doctrinaire democrat, and calmly used the Queen's authority to abolish the practice by Royal Warrant on the ground that it had been legalized solely by royal authority. The Lords then passed the rest of the Bill, and also another Act which transferred back to the Crown the authority over the militia, yeomanry and volunteers which the Tudors had conferred upon the Lords-Lieutenant of the counties.

In spite of its legislation, or perhaps because of it, the ministry became unpopular, for various "interests" felt themselves adversely affected by it. Moreover Gladstone, who hated war, had allowed France to be completely crushed by Prussia, who had won Russia's favour by agreeing to the revision of the Black Sea clause of the Treaty of Paris (1856) against England's fancied interest. Again, he had consented to pay a large sum of money to the United States as compensation for the damage done by the confederate cruiser *Alabama*, although its escape from England was not the Government's fault. However, by a curious fatality, Ireland was the ultimate cause of Gladstone's downfall. He had proposed to establish a University to which he hoped to attract both Protestants and Roman Catholics by excluding from its curriculum the disputed subjects of history, theology, and philosophy. By three votes the Bill failed to pass the Commons, and Gladstone resigned. However, Disraeli would not take office until the general election in February 1874 gave him a majority: in the new Parliament were 350 Conservatives and

244 Liberals, but there was also the new element of 58 Home Rulers.

For the first time since Peel's resignation, a Conservative Government was in power as well as in office, and no one had contributed more to that end than Disraeli. He did not fear the new democracy; indeed, he thoroughly believed in its possibilities, provided that he could convert it to his own theory of national as opposed to class solidarity, but he had no intention of undertaking any further far-reaching internal reforms. His object was to commend his party to the new electors by a foreign policy more vigorous than that of his predecessor while avoiding any reactionary domestic legislation. He pleased the Established Presbyterian Church of Scotland by abolishing lay patronage—the cause of the Great Secession of 1843—and conferring the right to appoint the minister on the male communicants of each parish. He modified Gladstone's rather stringent Licensing Act, and he attempted to pander to the Protestant agitators by the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874, which was to put down the use of the Eucharistic vestments revived during the past twenty years by the High Church clergy on the authority of the much disputed Ornaments Rubric in the Prayer Book. The Act was an egregious failure; it resulted in the imprisonment of a few recalcitrant High Church clergy, and their martyrdom —as it was styled by their supporters—effectively caused the Act to be in practice dropped. It is a curious commentary on the working of the new democracy that, when the High Church clergy had established themselves in the affections of strong congregations, the various legal judgments against their practices were silently allowed to fall into oblivion.

Probably one of the reasons for Gladstone's defeat was the hostility of the trade unions. In 1867 there had been outrages by trade-union members at Sheffield and elsewhere, and as a result Gladstone's Government was not allowed by its Whig supporters to grant the trade unionists' demands in the Parliament of 1869–1873. Disraeli cleverly met their wishes to a certain extent, and perhaps postponed the appearance of a definite Labour Party for almost a generation. Another useful measure was the Artisans Dwelling Act of Lord Cross in 1875, and that was closely followed by the Agricultural Holdings Act, which allowed landlord and tenant to arrange that the latter might claim compensation for un-

exhausted improvements. By another Act the landlords were compensated by being allowed formally to register their titles. In the same year the Merchant Shipping Bill established the "Plimsoll line" to prevent the danger to sailors from the overloading of merchant vessels, and attempted to remedy various other grievances. However, in the matter of political reforms Disraeli was obdurate; he would listen neither to Isaac Butt's plea for Home Rule nor to Trevelyan's plan for conferring the county franchise on the agricultural labourers, who had just begun to form trade unions in various parts of the country under the leadership of the Methodist lay preacher Joseph Arch. Equally he showed no signs of reviving the policy of protection, although when the depression both in trade and agriculture grew most pronounced in 1879 he appointed a commission to investigate the causes of distress in agricultural districts.

Since the "boom year" of 1872, following the Franco-German War of 1870–1871, trade and industry generally had grown steadily worse, and the ministry somewhat illogically was held to be responsible, as it seemed to devote most of its attention to foreign affairs. Disraeli, who in August 1876 had been created Earl of Beaconsfield, had championed Turkey against Russia, whom he suspected of selfish intentions under cover of helping the Christian Balkan peoples. His admonitions to Turkey, urging voluntary reforms and concessions, were forgotten when Turkish irregulars—the Bashi-Bazouks—committed horrible atrocities on the Bulgarian peasantry. Gladstone, who had gone into retirement on his defeat, suddenly reappeared and took the task of opposing the ministry's foreign policy out of the hands of his nominal successor, Lord Hartington. The result of his eloquence and the depression in trade was that when the general election was held, in March 1880, Gladstone had 349 followers to Beaconsfield's 243, and there were also 60 Home Rulers. No other Liberal could dispute his claim to lead, and when, a year later, Beaconsfield died, Gladstone seemed to be supreme in Parliament.

The Irish members in the House of Commons would have caused the new ministry as much trouble as they did the old had not Gladstone, quite early in the session, announced that he did not intend to renew the Peace Preservation Act, but that he would bring in a new Relief of Distress Act to amend

an earlier one passed by Beaconsfield. It was high time something was done, for, disgusted by the failure of Isaac Butt's constitutional methods, Michael Davitt had in 1879 formed the Irish Land League and preached a "no rent" campaign until he and his friends were arrested. The Irish members at once began a deliberate policy of obstructing all parliamentary business so as to force the ministry to accept their proposals. When Gladstone attempted to meet the difficulty caused by the special distress in Ireland by a clause allowing compensation even to tenants evicted for non-payment of rent during 1880 and 1881, the Lords threw out the Bill and the Land League redoubled its agitation. Soon the agrarian outrages grew so numerous that Charles Stewart Parnell, who was rapidly becoming dictator of the Irish Party, was, together with some others, prosecuted for conspiring to incite breaches of the law. Parnell had been too cautious, and the jury were discharged without giving a verdict. When Forster, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, carried the first reading of a Bill for the "Protection of Life and Property in Ireland," thirty-six Irish members deliberately defied the Speaker and had to be suspended and removed from the House. The Standing Orders of the House were modified so as to allow the Speaker to restrict discussion, and Forster's Bill was passed in March 1881; but Gladstone could not bear to rely on repression alone.

Accordingly, in April, he brought in his second Irish Land Bill. Existing tenants were allowed to sell their rights and interest to the highest bidder, and a Rent Court was established to fix judicial rents for a term of fifteen years if any tenants applied to it. An actually existing tenancy was to end if there was any breach of the statutory conditions of the tenure, and the new tenant would not have the rights of the old tenancy. The Bill also contained safeguards to exempt English-managed estates, and to allow the landlord to object to a new tenant and to enjoy certain limited rights of pre-emption and resumption; other clauses provided for the establishment of peasant proprietors and perpetual leaseholders at a fee-farm rent. The Act failed to satisfy Parnell, although it practically conceded "the three F's," as they were called—"a fair rent, a fixed rent, and freedom to sell"—and the agitation continued. He was arrested, and when a "no rent" manifesto was issued the Land League was proclaimed

as "an illegal and criminal association" in October 1881. The passing of the Land Act led to a quarrel between Gladstone and the House of Lords in 1882, and in May Lord Cowper, the Lord-Lieutenant, and Forster, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, resigned. Suddenly Gladstone announced that Parnell and some of his friends had been released from prison, and that a Bill was to be brought in to "strengthen the law and remove the difficulties in the way of the administration of justice." Whatever hope of settlement there might have been from Parnell's co-operation was ruined by the senseless murder of Sir Frederick Cavendish, the new Chief Secretary, and Burke, the Permanent Secretary, by the "Invincibles," or Irish Extremists, in Phœnix Park on May 6, 1882. Parnell was not directly to blame, but he had to see his work undone by forces which had passed out of his control. Despite frantic obstruction by the Irish members, the Prevention of Crimes Bill was forced through Parliament, and a drastic system of rules for closuring debate was carried. However, the new Chief Secretary, Trevelyan, was not more successful than his predecessors in an impossible task. The only certain thing was that matters in Ireland could not remain as they were, and that Home Rule was the sole condition of peace that Parnell and his party would accept.

The second Gladstone Ministry was in few respects a success. In 1880 it pleased the Dissenters by bringing in a Burials Bill to redress their grievances; it pleased the tenant farmers by passing the Ground Game Act, which allowed them to shoot hares and rabbits on their own land, and it benefited the artisans by the first and rather inadequate Employers' Liability Act. However, it became involved in a long quarrel with Bradlaugh, the member for Northampton, one of its own supporters, who, though a professed Agnostic, attempted to take the usual oath on the New Testament, but was repeatedly refused admission to the House of Commons. Moreover, as before, Gladstone's foreign policy was not a success. A revolt of the Transvaal Boers was followed by a British disaster at Majuba Hill and a most unsatisfactory peace. Soon afterwards, an English fleet bombarded Alexandria in Egypt to put down a revolt of the native army, and Bright, the friend and ally of Cobden, in consequence left the ministry. The crowning trouble of the ministry was the murder of General Gordon at Khartoum,

where he had been sent with ambiguous instructions to withdraw the Egyptian army and officials from the Soudan. Gladstone was widely blamed for Gordon's death, although probably the delay in sending the rescue party was due to unexpected obstructions.

Even the great triumph of the ministry, the passing of the third Reform Bill, had to be shared with their political opponents. The House of Lords refused to pass the Bill, which extended the franchise to the county householders on the same terms as that of 1867 conferred it on the town householders, for the Radical agricultural labourer as well as the Tory farmer would thus obtain the vote. Threats of "ending or mending" the House of Lords were made by Liberals, but the Queen tactfully persuaded the Lords to give way on condition that a further Bill for the redistribution of seats was passed at the same time. As a result, household suffrage was established in both town and county, and the new constituencies were supposed to be, as a rule, approximately equal in size and, except in a few cases, were represented by one member only. Even this theoretical equality, so dear to the Radical and Chartist of earlier days, could not be maintained for long in the absence of a clause to provide for the automatic redistribution of seats after each census, and the glaring discrepancy in population between English suburban constituencies such as Wandsworth or Romford and Irish villages such as Newry and Kilkenny, caused the Radical cry of "one man, one vote" to be met by the reply "one vote, one value."

A defeat on the Budget's proposal to increase the taxation of alcoholic liquors gave Gladstone an excuse to resign in June 1885. Whigs and Radicals had combined to make their common leader uncomfortable, and Gladstone was beginning to feel the inconsistency of a democratic ministry governing Ireland in an autocratic manner. The new Conservative Premier, Lord Salisbury—the opponent of the Reform Bill of 1867—had dropped the Crimes Act, and his representative in Ireland, the Lord-Lieutenant Carnavon, had actually told Parnell at a secret interview that he personally was in favour of the principle of Home Rule. As a result, the Irish vote in England was cast for the Conservatives at the election in December, and the number of Home Rulers and Conservatives returned—86 and 249 respectively—exactly equalled the

335 Liberals. Gladstone's election address had asked for a majority independent of Irish votes with a view to settling the Irish question on an equitable basis. Before Parliament met he tried to come to terms with Salisbury for the purpose of securing a joint scheme granting autonomy to Ireland. However, Carnarvon's views were not shared by many of the party, and the Queen's speech hinted at a renewal of coercion.

Lord Salisbury was defeated on the address to the Crown by an alliance of Home Rulers and Liberals, for Gladstone had allowed it to be known that he had now become converted to the principle of Home Rule as the only alternative to continued coercion: under a democratic franchise Ireland had returned 85 Home Rulers out of 103 members. However, Gladstone's third ministry was of short duration. In April 1886 he introduced the first Home Rule Bill and announced that it would be followed by a Land Purchase Bill to create a peasant proprietary in Ireland. He at once split his party, for Hartington, Selborne, and even Bright would have nothing to do with the scheme proposed, preferring not to join the ministry, while Chamberlain and Trevelyan only remained in office until they discovered how little Gladstone's views agreed with theirs. Chamberlain had hoped that the Bill would embody his own scheme of an elective Irish Council, but he found to his dismay that it provided for an Irish Parliament and responsible ministry in Dublin with power to legislate only on Irish affairs; not only were its powers carefully restricted, but Ireland had still to make certain payments to the Imperial Exchequer although no members representing Ireland might sit at Westminster.

Such a Bill could be legitimately criticized, especially on the last clause, which was bound to produce friction, and in addition Salisbury attacked the Irish fitness for self-government in scathing terms, while Bright, who disliked recent events in Ireland, feared for the Protestant minority. As a result, Chamberlain and a number of others, henceforth known as Liberal Unionists, seceded from the party, and Gladstone, being in a minority of thirty on the second reading of the Bill, resigned. The ninety-three seceders represented all shades of Whig and Liberal opinion, for many of the party had become enthusiastic supporters of the Imperial Federation League founded by Lord Rosebery and Forster in 1884, and shared the Conservative view that the Home Rule scheme of Gladstone

was bound to lead in the end to the dismemberment of the empire. When Gladstone appealed to the country the answer was decisive: only 191 Gladstonians and 85 Home Rulers were returned to face 316 Conservatives and 78 Liberal Unionists.

Lord Salisbury had chivalrously offered to serve under the Liberal Unionist leader Hartington, but in the end a purely Conservative Ministry had to be formed. Arthur Balfour, the new premier's nephew, was made Chief Secretary for Ireland to apply Salisbury's recipe of twenty years of resolute government which would fit Ireland ultimately, he said, for self-government and the repeal of coercion. Balfour certainly preserved better order in Ireland than had been known for many years, but it was sarcastically said that during this period "one in every seven of the Irish members was either in prison, on his way to prison, or on his way out of prison." Not till 1890 was the coercion at all relaxed, and in 1891 the Conservative Government showed that it desired to kill "Home Rule by kindness" as well as by coercion, and brought in a Land Purchase scheme by which British credit enabled 35,000 peasants in five years to buy their holdings by yearly payments less in amount than the former judicial rent. At home, the Conservatives passed many Acts of a liberal character, such as the County Councils Act of 1888, which replaced the meeting of the magistrates in Quarter Sessions by an elective County Council as the governing body in local affairs, and there was also useful legislation on the subjects of "sweated" industries, education, and allotments. One of the ministry's earliest efforts had been the establishment of a "two-power" standard for the navy, and it also paid great attention to colonial matters, especially after the Royal Jubilee of 1887.

However, after the election of 1892 Gladstone, now 82, became premier for the fourth time, with a small majority of 40, including Irish Home Rulers. He was bitterly disappointed at the result, for the "Newcastle Programme" of the National Liberal Federation—the party "machine"—issued in 1891, had included Home Rule, Disestablishment of the Church in Wales, Local Option, and other items calculated to fuse the different sections of the party into one enthusiastic whole. Home Rule was not popular in English constituencies, for although Parnell had disproved the accusation of the *Times* that he had written a letter partially approving of the Phœnix

Park murders, he had soon afterwards appeared as the co-respondent in an undefended divorce case, and although he had been promptly deposed from his leadership by the more numerous sections of the Irish Party, the cause of Home Rule suffered an undoubted set-back. The new Home Rule Bill of 1892 borrowed a device from the Croatian Home Rule Parliament, and proposed that the eighty Irish members should vote at Westminster only when matters that concerned Ireland were being dealt with. However, the Bill only passed its third reading in the Commons by 34, and the House of Lords rejected it by 419 to 41. Gladstone did not venture to appeal to the country, but after passing the Parish Councils Bill, conferring large rights of self-government on areas less than those provided for in 1888, he found that, depressed by failing sight and hearing, he was quite unequal to the struggles with the House of Lords, which persistently rejected his measures. He resigned early in 1894 and died in 1898. His retirement was hastened by a disagreement with the majority of his colleagues, who desired to commit him to an extensive naval programme.

Gladstone's last speech in Parliament was a threat against the House of Lords, but for the next decade that House, led by Lord Salisbury, seemed to be stronger that at any time since the first Reform Act. Gladstone's successor—the former Foreign Minister Rosebery—owed his appointment largely to the Queen's preference for him over either Harcourt or Spencer. Harcourt became Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, and scored the one success of the ministry—the "Death Duties" in the Budget of 1894—which even Conservative Governments copied, as it proved so profitable to the exchequer. However, the ministry was helpless and crumbling, and in June 1895 Rosebery seized the pretext of a defeat on the question of the supply of cordite to resign. He had complained bitterly of a position of responsibility without power, and he had also managed to alienate the Irish by maintaining that, before Home Rule could be granted to Ireland, England, "the predominant partner," would have to be convinced of its justice.

At the ensuing general election the allied Conservatives and Liberal Unionists, who soon came to be known as the Unionist Party, won a great victory. For the third time Lord Salisbury became premier, with a majority of about 150, and he so

strengthened his party by persuading some of the Unionist leaders, such as Chamberlain, the Duke of Devonshire, and Lord Lansdowne to take office that it remained in power till December 1905. The Liberal Party, torn in two by the quarrels of rival claimants to the leadership, caused little trouble, and as the Irish were in no better plight despite Parnell's death, the question of Home Rule ceased to be pressing. At home, thanks perhaps to the Liberal Unionist element in the ministry, many useful social reforms were passed, and even Ireland received certain concessions. An Irish Local Government Bill in 1898 created elective County Councils with a democratic franchise, and, although the policy of "firm government" was continued, both in 1896 and in 1903 Land Purchase Bills were passed. The Act of 1903, known as the Wyndham Act, was the result of a conference between the rival landlord and tenant leaders under the neutral chairmanship of Lord Dunraven. In order to make it possible for the landlords to sell at a price not prohibitive to the tenants, the British Treasury gave the landlords a bonus of twelve per cent. and promised to pay the purchase-money in cash, while the tenant was allowed sixty-eight and a half years' credit. Later, the finance of the scheme somewhat broke down, and the succeeding Liberal Government altered it in 1909, but most people in Ireland are now agreed that the only way out of Ireland's agrarian difficulties is the establishment of a nation of peasant freeholders on these lines. As a successful department of agriculture and technical instruction had been established in 1899 on lines suggested by Sir Horace Plunket, its first head, the peasantry could look forward to a more prosperous future under happier economic conditions.

The attention of the third Salisbury Ministry, however, was taken up more by foreign, and especially by colonial affairs. The Colonial Minister, Chamberlain, made a skilful use of the presence of colonial premiers at the Queen's "Diamond" Jubilee in 1897 to discuss with them plans for drawing closer together the various parts of the empire. Soon afterwards, in October 1899, the Boer War broke out, which was in itself the result of the Boers' suspicion of Chamberlain's democratic imperialism, which seemed to threaten their own rights of self-government. Before the war was over the Unionists successfully retained their majority at the general election of 1900, but soon after the Peace of Vereeniging, April 1902, Chamberlain visited

Africa, and returned to advocate a reform of the tariff by the introduction of a modified system of protection which would allow preferential duties to be offered to the colonies as a means of consolidating the empire.

Although Chamberlain even converted some Liberals to his scheme he ruined the Unionist Party, for Balfour, who had succeeded Salisbury as premier in 1902, was quite unable to reconcile the Free Trade Conservatives to the scheme even as modified by himself. Moreover, the ministry had offended the Dissenters by the Education Act of 1902, had angered many trade unionists by refusing to legalize picketing during strikes, and had failed to carry many promised social reforms, especially Old Age Pensions. One of its ablest members, Wyndham, the Irish Chief Secretary, was forced to resign by the Ulster Unionists, who declared that he had been considering schemes of devolution which approached too near Home Rule.

In November 1905 Balfour resigned in despair, and the Liberal Ministry of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman that succeeded won a sweeping victory at the polls. It had a majority independent alike of the Home Rulers and of the new Labour Party, which for the first time appeared with twenty-nine actual members, although it could count on the support of a number of others elected by mining constituencies. The Unionist Party was a mere fragment, divided into Tariff Reformers and Free Traders. The new Labour Party was largely the work of the Labour Representation Committee founded in 1900, and was identified more especially with the New Unionism which, dating from the great dock strike of 1889, sought to improve the condition of the working classes by direct political action. Naturally, it demanded and obtained from the new ministry what the preceding one had refused—the repeal of the legal decision in the "Taff Vale" case, which, by allowing damages to be obtained from a trade union, promised to make picketing and strikes almost impossible. As finally amended, the Act now passed placed trade unions in a more favourable position than any other body, for they could not henceforth be held responsible in a court of law for the actions of individual members. The House of Lords, however, rejected other Liberal measures, including an Education Bill and a Bill to abolish plural voting, but when the Premier resigned from ill-health early in

1908 and was succeeded by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Asquith, matters soon came to a crisis.

Asquith's successor at the Treasury, Lloyd George, had provided money for an Old Age Pension scheme which the Lords had no power or desire to oppose, but a comprehensive Licensing Bill was rejected by them, although it was plain that their action would be bitterly resented by the Liberals. At once the Premier declared that the abolition of the Lords' "veto" would be the dominant Liberal policy of the future. The issue was forced when the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought in the Budget in 1909. He cleverly proposed to find the money for the Liberal Old Age Pension scheme and for the Tory policy of a stronger navy by imposing a novel series of land taxes, to which he knew the Lords would object. The House of Lords, faced by the alternative of accepting distasteful (and, as they maintained, unsound) financial expedients, or reviving their obsolescent if not obsolete right to reject the Budget, decided on the latter course and forced a dissolution. The Liberals were able to retain a majority after the general election only by the 122 votes of the Nationalist and Labour Parties, for the Conservatives had made a net gain of 100 seats, which successive by-elections increased until they were the strongest single party in the House.

However, for the time being Asquith could force the House of Lords to accept the disputed Budget, and worse still, he proceeded to use his victory to settle the veto question as well. He proposed resolutions in the House of Commons which abolished the Lords' veto entirely so far as financial measures were concerned, and limited the veto to two years only in the case of other measures in such a way that when the same measure had been twice passed by the House of Commons and was then passed in a third session it would automatically become law on receiving the royal consent. A third resolution cut down the life of Parliament from seven to five years. The plan was clumsy and not very popular, and the House of Lords, under Lord Rosebery's leadership, attempted to reform itself on quasi-democratic lines.

Unfortunately, the statesmanlike King Edward VII, who had succeeded his mother in January 1901, died in the midst of the crisis. He had taken great interest in the controversy, and on his death the party leaders agreed to a conference on

the proposed reform of the House of Lords. By November 1910 the conference had hopelessly failed, and a new election was held to decide between the Ministry's scheme and one outlined by the Unionist Party. The latter professed themselves willing to reduce the numbers of the House of Lords and to allow half its members to be obtained by elections and nominations, grave disputes between the two Houses to be settled by a referendum or vote by all the electors. However, though the Conservative Free Traders rallied to their old party on the constitutional question, the balance of parties was unchanged by election, and the House of Lords had to accept the ministry's Bill in 1911. The preamble of the Parliament Act, as it was called, indeed promised that the makeshift arrangements should be replaced as soon as convenient by a democratic senate, but the problem was not attempted until the ministry, to the not unnatural dismay of its political opponents, had used its absolute power to force the Home Rule Bill and Welsh Disestablishment Bill through Parliament according to the provisions of the Parliament Act.

Both these Bills were highly contentious measures, and were perhaps originally not intended to pass in their extremest form. However, political strife became very fierce during the years following the passing of the Parliament Act, partly because of the slow but steady progress of the Unionist Party both in and out of Parliament, thanks to the violent proposals of their opponents, and partly to the threats of armed resistance from the Ulster Unionists. The ministry's position was not enviable, for it practically depended for its majority more and more on the votes of the Irish Home Rule members, while, on the other hand, its Unionist opponents openly threatened to repeal both the Parliament Act and the legislation passed under it on their return to power.

The Ulster Volunteers were allowed to drill and arm almost unmolested, and their Nationalist opponents attempted to follow their example. A belated attempt on the part of the ministry to interfere in Ulster led to the threatened resignation of many of the officers of the regiments in Ireland, while another attempt later to check the landing of rifles destined for the Irish Nationalist Volunteers led to a serious riot in Dublin. The ministry, in alarm, tried to meet the objections of the Ulster Volunteers, but as the latter insisted that the least concession they would accept was the exclusion of all the

Ulster counties from the control of the Irish Parliament, the ministry could not proceed with the proposed Amending Bill. Suddenly, when the riot in Dublin had threatened the ministry's relations with the Home Rulers, the great war of 1914 broke out. Asquith, finding himself unable to satisfy the various conflicting parties, contented himself with putting both the Home Rule Bill and the hardly less difficult Welsh Disestablishment Bill on the Statute book under the provisions of the Parliament Act, but he induced the House of Lords to pass short Bills that postponed the time when they should come into operation. His action secured the loyalty of the Nationalist Volunteers at a critical moment, and he had given the Ulster Volunteers the excuse to suspend hostilities by announcing that in any case he would not attempt to force the Home Rule Bill on Protestant Ulster against its will.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

The Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century not only led to the political revolution which during the nineteenth century established democracy in the United Kingdom, but it also helped to bring about a social and economic revolution which will be briefly considered under the headings of Poor Law and Public Health, Factory Legislation, Fiscal Reform, Education, and Socialism and Trade Unionism.

1. *Poor Law and Public Health.* — The Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601 had been drawn up to meet the simpler economic and social conditions of that period, and required for its success a watchful and strong Central Government. From the Restoration onwards the King and his counsellors concerned themselves very little with local matters, and perhaps their most noteworthy interference was the Act of Settlement passed in 1662 which, to discourage vagrancy and the flocking of the poor to parishes where they were most favourably treated, gave power to remove a new-comer to the parish where he was last legally settled if he seemed likely to become a charge to the ratepayers in his new home. The result was disastrous, for the Act seriously interfered with the mobility of labour, and legally bound down the peasant to remain often in hopeless

poverty in his native village. About the time of the Revolution of 1688 there were, according to the calculations of Gregory King, about one quarter of the total population of five and a half millions more or less dependent on parish relief. Both before and after the Revolution attempts were made to employ the able bodied poor in remunerative labour, but generally with scant success except for a time in the case of some of the towns, for not only was the unit of effort, the parish, too small and weak financially, but pauper labour was seldom given cheerfully, and did not pay.

In the year 1723 an Act was passed which allowed a single parish or a union of parishes to build a large workhouse to house the poor, who were to be employed. Unfortunately the custom grew up of letting the management of poor relief to contractors, who for a fixed sum per head or in gross undertook all responsibility. This system frequently had disastrous effects on the poor, who were generally forced into the workhouses, which were too often allowed to become hot-beds of filth, disease, and immorality. The Act of 1723 certainly decreased the poor rates, and the workhouse test, which gave the poor only the alternatives of the workhouse or no relief, outwardly decreased the number of paupers. By 1750, despite the increase of population by about one-fifth during the past fifty years, the total poor rate had fallen by about one-sixth.

However, during the second half of the eighteenth century the poverty of the peasantry greatly increased. The enclosure of the commons and the temporary displacement of labour by the new mechanical inventions each helped towards this end, and philanthropists began to see that poverty was sometimes the result of unavoidable misfortune. By 1783 the more humane view resulted in the famous Gilbert's Act of 1783, which allowed groups of parishes to form "Gilbert's Unions," which were not only able to provide for the poor in workhouses where the system of contracting for the labour and support of the poor was to be carefully supervised, but had also power to allow the able-bodied poor to take any employment they could get in the district, their wages being supplemented by the parish. In such unions of parishes the responsible authorities were not the overseers and churchwardens, but "guardians of the poor" and justices of the peace, men of higher social status and often more sympathetic. Besides Gilbert's "permissive" Act, various private Acts were obtained by certain towns and

districts, and the old system was further altered by an Act of 1795, which modified slightly in the new-comer's favour the Act of 1662. In the same year the so-called "bread scale" of outdoor relief was legalized by an Act of Parliament which in itself was the result of the well-meant kindness of the magistrates of Speenhamland, near Newbury. The price of corn had risen enormously on account of the war, and the magistrates issued an elaborate scale fixing the weekly income necessary to enable a labourer to keep house which varied with the number of his children and the price of bread.

The Speenhamland system may have saved England from a popular rising by the starving peasantry, but it had disastrous results on village life. Everywhere the rates rose enormously, and, the farmers being little better off than their labourers, land went out of cultivation. Able-bodied farm labourers refused to work, and often married solely to get increased outdoor relief. The lot of the shirker was easier than that of the independent labourer, and immorality increased when it was found that relief was also given for illegitimate children, whose mother often appeared to be a desirable wife solely on account of her parish relief. Farmers were forced to dismiss their labourers so as to find employment for parish paupers, who were of little more economic value than those of their fellows who had to qualify for relief by standing so many hours each day in the village pound. Lavish outdoor relief tended to check the rise in wages, for the system could not be easily modified even after the peace of 1815, and the vast increase of population led Malthus, author of an *Essay on the Principle of Population*, and his allies, the classical economists, to fear lest population should outrun the means of subsistence.

The classical economists, who were in theory at least the disciples of Adam Smith, author of *The Wealth of Nations*, were convinced individualists, and would in any case have criticized so lavish a system of poor relief on economic grounds, and they began to have great influence on legislation. A parliamentary committee of 1824 condemned the administration of the poor law, but nothing was actually done to remedy matters till the first reformed Parliament appointed a commission upon whose report the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 was based. Undoubtedly Edwin Chadwick, the secretary, as well as many of the members, based their recommendations on the teaching of their master, Jeremy Bentham, and the maxims

of the *laissez-faire* or classical economists rather than upon the actual evidence they obtained, although the state of affairs revealed did justify drastic measures. By the new Act the administration of the Poor Law was placed for five years in the hands of three commissioners with such autocratic powers that they soon came to be known as "the three Bashaws," while the workhouses they controlled were nicknamed "the Bastilles." Each workhouse was to serve a group of parishes known as an "Union," and was to be managed by "guardians" elected by the ratepayers. The guardians were ordered to apply strictly the workhouse test and to refuse relief to able-bodied paupers except in the workhouse. Outdoor relief even to the impotent poor was to be discouraged, and the principle was laid down that the lot of the pauper was to be made less eligible than that of the poorest independent labourer.

The commissioners were charged with the task of drawing up regulations for the management of workhouses and for the formation of unions, and not only were they able to dismiss inefficient or incompetent Poor Law officials, but they could also veto the dismissal of any salaried official proposed by the Guardians. Thus the central authorities secured that control of local administration which had been the aim of the Council of the Tudors and early Stuarts. The new principles had a severe test during the commercial depression of 1836, and the attitude of the commissioners was so fiercely criticized that for a time their powers were only continued from year to year. In 1842 they were renewed for five years, and in 1847 the commissioners drew up a "General Order" which, with some modifications, served for many years to keep the working of the system on the new lines. The principal variation in more recent years has been in the direction of more lenity, especially in the matter of outdoor relief, which was totally prohibited in 1844. Now, it is allowed in certain cases under carefully restricted conditions. The chief faults of the new system were its want of elasticity and its tendency to treat poverty as more or less an avoidable misfortune. There was no attempt to classify the inmates of workhouses, and although drastic measures were certainly not wholly indefensible in view of the evil results of the old want of system, the new Guardians of the poor somewhat merited the gibe that they were really guardians of the ratepayers' pockets.

However, by 1847 the need of a central co-ordinating

authority had become plain, and the three commissioners were superseded by the Poor Law Board, the president of which had a seat in the House of Commons; so that the new board, unlike the commissioners, could defend itself against adverse critics. In the following year, 1848, as a result of the attention which the recent attack of cholera had called to the awful sanitary condition of England, the Public Health Act constituted a Central Board of Health, with inspectors whose duty it was to arrange for the erection of Local Boards of Health throughout the country. The Local Boards were to remove nuisances dangerous to health, and to prevent the erection of insanitary buildings. The Local Board areas did not necessarily correspond to the areas of the Poor Law Union, even when in 1871 the Poor Law Board and the Central Board of Health were both absorbed in the new Local Government Board, and a third local area, the School Board created by the Education Act of 1870, was coextensive with neither. However, the Local Government Board slowly but surely raised the level of administration both of the Poor Law Unions and the Local Boards, and the Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1894, which established respectively County Councils and Parish and District Councils, have made a reorganization of local services at least possible in the future.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the efforts of social investigators, and of religious bodies such as the Church Army and the Salvation Army, had caused public opinion to favour a lrge extension of State action in matters of public health and well-being. The problem of poverty was studied scientifically, and the new Poor Law was condemned in the reports of both the majority and the minority members of the Royal Commission on the Working of the Poor Laws that reported in 1909. Both reports favoured the abolition of the Guardians and the Poor Law Unions, and were in agreement that there was not sufficient classification of applicants for relief; but while the majority preferred that the administration of the Poor Laws should be transferred to the County and Borough Councils, the Minority Report practically recommended that the work should be shared among already existing or newly-created authorities so that, for example, children should be the care of the Education Authority, while the sick and infirm should be looked after by a National Medical Service, which already existed to some extent in the

form of local Medical Officers of Health. No direct action on either report had been taken up to the end of 1914, but measures such as Old Age Pensions for the indigent over seventy years of age, Labour Bureaus, and the National Insurance Act, which provides against sickness and also in some cases against unemployment, point to the realization by the State of its duty to its less fortunate members. All political parties accept the principles of these measures, and the only criticism has concerned details.

2. *Factory Legislation.*—Reference has already been made to the Act of 1802 which was passed to safeguard "the health and morals" of the cotton-mill apprentices, who were often child paupers from London and south-country workhouses. However, the Act was more or less a failure, as the only "inspectors" were the local justices of the peace, often themselves factory owners, or their relations. The prevailing school of political economy, in the name of their *laissez-faire* principles, deprecated any interference by the State with the conditions of labour, but Robert Owen, the Socialist pioneer, who was joint owner of the New Lanark Mills, near Glasgow, inaugurated a movement for better conditions in factories based upon the success of his own voluntary efforts. The struggle was long and bitter, but first the children, then the women, and finally the male adult workers secured more tolerable conditions of labour by a series of Acts that began with the great Act of 1833. Among the pioneers must be mentioned Richard Oastler, the Tory philanthropist of the West Riding, whose attention was drawn to the slaves at home by his interest in the anti-slavery movement, and the noble-minded Michael Sadler, through whose efforts in the unreformed Parliament the commission to investigate factory conditions was appointed.

It seems probable that some of the witnesses before this commission more or less intentionally exaggerated the evils of the system, which were in reality quite serious enough, for Robert Owen's hopes had been greatly disappointed by the Act of 1819, which had failed to secure a twelve hours' day even for children nine years old. Sadler lost his seat, but in the first reformed Parliament Lord Ashley took up his work and obtained the commission of 1833, which proved to the hilt that although conditions varied considerably, from fair in the West of England to very serious in the newer mills and factories of the north, the factory system had a bad effect both

physically and morally on the condition of those who would be the future parents of the race. Long hours, insanitary conditions, bullying, and irregularity of employment made the conditions of the factory hands inferior to those of the domestic workers. Curiously enough, the Radical Joseph Hume defended the capitalists, and maintained that the distress in the country was wholly due to the Corn Laws, which caused food to be dear; and for many years afterwards the unedifying charge was made that the manufacturers were only advocating the repeal of the Corn Laws as a revenge on the aristocratic landowners who had forced on the Factory Acts, while the Chartists accused the masters of desiring to repeal the Corn Laws so that they might keep wages low.

However, the first Factory Act was passed, and provided that no child under thirteen years of age should work more than eight hours a day; from thirteen to eighteen years, children might not work over twelve hours, and all night work by children and young persons was forbidden. Lord Ashley had hoped for more stringent conditions, but the Act did introduce the useful innovation of paid independent inspectors of factories, who had to report breaches of the law to a central authority. Actually, by their reports the inspectors also greatly influenced the character of the later factory legislation. Robert Owen and Ashley had hoped for a Ten Hours Bill for all factory workers, and by instalments their programme was slowly realized. By the Act of 1844 women were to be treated as "young persons," and they came under the Act of 1833; and in 1847 the hours of labour for women and young persons were legally restricted to ten. However, on the revival of trade in 1848 the masters ran the machinery for fifteen hours daily; as adult male labour was as yet unprotected, the Act of 1848 was evaded by a system of relays of the protected workers. Next year the Act was amended in such a way that protected persons could only be employed between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m., during which time they must have an hour and a half for meals. However, it was found that children might still be worked in relays and so enable the master to retain the men after the women workers had left; therefore in 1853 a normal ten and a half hours' day was legally established for all factory workers except adult males, who, however, automatically secured the benefit when it was realized that it did not pay to run the mills for solely male labour.

The result of this factory legislation justified the contentions of Robert Owen and thoroughly falsified the dismal prophecies of the classical economists. As Owen saw, the product of labour in the textile trades did not increase proportionately with the hours of labour, and the professions of men like Nassau Senior that the Factory Acts would seriously affect the trade of the country, the profits of the capitalist, and so the ultimate prosperity of the workmen, only led the masters to useless attempts to evade the law until they realized the baseless character of such warnings. Lord Ashley was encouraged by his success to bring in legislation to deal with the labour of women and children in coal mines. His Bill passed in 1842 put an end to some of the worst abuses, and as the miners formed strong trade unions and found plenty of friends, they were able to get Parliament to pass the Mines Regulation Act in 1850, under which a system of government inspectors was instituted. A later Act of 1860 allowed the miners of each pit to elect a checkweigher to keep an accurate and independent account of the work done by each man.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century the workers in the leading industries formed strong trade unions, and by parliamentary pressure, strikes, or collective bargaining with the masters secured steadily improving conditions of service. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, founded in 1850, won a nine hours' day by a successful strike in 1871, while for many years the textile operatives and the coal miners have maintained elaborate working agreements with their employers. Legislation came to be considered necessary only in the case of "sweated" industries, where the low rate of pay and the unskilled character of the labour made trade unionism of little value to improve conditions. In 1909, Parliament provided for the appointment of Trade Boards, with power to regulate the conditions of labour in certain specified industries, for example the tailoring trade, where action was urgent in the interests of the workers. Another Act called for by the peculiar nature of the problem was the Miners' Eight Hours Bill of 1908. When Labour Exchanges and insurance against unemployment as well as against sickness became branches of the State's action, as in 1909 and 1911, the visions of Robert Owen and other pioneers were coming very near realization.

3. *Fiscal Reform.* — Although the theories of the *laissez-faire* school of economists were steadily disregarded so far as

social legislation was concerned, they nevertheless remained in full force in fiscal matters. Huskisson's reform of the tariff has already been referred to, and his views came to be more and more those of Sir Robert Peel. When Peel came into power in 1841 he was already a convert to the theory of the advantages of a low tariff both to the Government and the nation at large, and in 1842 he repealed a large number of import duties and modified others. To meet the existing deficit and the probable temporary loss of revenue from the new tariff, Pitt's income-tax was revived for three years. Thanks partly to good harvests, Peel's policy was a great success, and the income-tax was re-imposed in 1845 for three years more so that a further reduction of import duties and the total abolition of export duties might be carried out. However, Peel's policy offended two sets of critics. He had proposed to remove the duties on foreign hides and lard, to the dismay of his supporters among the farming interest, and he refused to abolish the Corn Laws as the Anti-Corn Law League demanded.

Peel recognized that protection for the farmer and protection for the manufacturer were by no means to be defended on the same lines. Huskisson's policy, which Peel merely developed, was largely influenced by the "Petition" presented by the London merchants to Parliament in 1820 in favour of free trade. They asked for an inquiry into the question as to how far the existing system of protection was responsible for the depression in trade, and maintained that their own trade was seriously affected by duties imposed by foreign countries in retaliation for similar duties imposed by England. A Committee of the House of Commons was appointed, and agreed with the merchants in condemning the existing fiscal system, which was indeed not the old Mercantile System, but that system partly reformed by Pitt and then aggravated by a series of unscientific taxes due to the necessity of financing the great war. Thanks to the Industrial Revolution, English merchants and manufacturers felt able to force their wares in foreign markets, and they did not fear to be undersold in the home market, as industries abroad had scarcely begun to make use of mechanical inventions. Their zeal for free trade was not wholly unselfish, for they hoped that by a policy of cheapness in production they could persuade foreign nations to acquiesce in a division of industry which would make them content to leave England the workshop of the world, and

accept the position themselves of agriculturists and exporters of raw materials. The Corn Laws certainly meant dear food, and as their belief in the wages-fund theory made them able conscientiously to say that they could not increase their workmen's wages without ruining the nation's industries, and so ultimately the workmen also, the only possible remedy for the evils of which the workmen complained was the repeal of the Corn Laws.

It was long before Peel was converted to the theory that the Corn Laws should go. He knew that the Corn Law of 1815 only differed from other similar laws by its exclusion of all foreign corn from England until the price of English corn reached the high figure of eighty shillings a quarter, and that although Parliament certainly considered the interests of the farmers and landowners, and desired that the money they had invested in reclaiming and improving their lands during the great war should not be lost by a sudden fall in the price of corn, another motive for the passing of the Act was that the country should not run the risk of being starved out in time of war because its wheat lands had gone out of cultivation. Many thoughtful men of both parties, however, realized that the Act had failed. Wheat did not reach the price of eighty shillings, and so the farmer did not prosper; and owing to the industrial depression after the war many people were unable to buy sufficient for their sustenance, even at the low prices. Moreover, as harvests varied, prices fluctuated wildly, and neither farmer nor artisan benefited. In time of scarcity corn could not be readily imported, while when harvests were good the price did not remunerate the farmer owing to the high rates and taxes he had to pay. As Cobden justly pointed out, the Kentish hop-grower paid for the protection of his hops by the duty he had to pay on consuming the wheat which another person grew; the farmer might get a high price for his wheat, but, as it cost the labourer dear, he had to pay a high poor rate to cope with the resulting poverty. Ultimately, Cobden argued, only the landed interest benefited by the high rents, which could not be paid but for the Corn Laws.

The Act of 1815 had been amended in 1822 by the substitution of a sliding scale of duties on foreign corn according to the price of English corn, instead of complete prohibition. In 1828 Wellington, who had opposed Canning's scheme in the preceding year, modified the old sliding scale in favour of

the consumer, and henceforth the Corn Laws were repeatedly attacked by the Whigs. One section of the party proposed the total repeal of the laws, and found little support in the House of Commons; but many Whigs preferred the expedient of a small fixed duty on foreign corn to the cumbrous system of the sliding scale. In 1839 the Manchester Anti-Corn Law League was founded, largely by the efforts of John Bright and Richard Cobden. Bright was the orator of the party, and appealed to the nobler feelings of his audience, while Cobden possessed an inexhaustible supply of details on the working of the Corn Laws, and knew how to present the case so as to attract the sympathy of his different class of auditors. The Chartists scoffed at the new remedy for the people's miseries, but Cobden was not afraid to argue the question with the farmer or his labourers, and the League's membership grew. Cobden and Bright proved valuable allies to Charles Villiers, who in the House of Commons had for some time led the struggle against great odds, but for a time the Whig leaders, such as Melbourne, Russell, and Palmerston, would not listen to proposals for the total repeal of the Corn Laws. In 1839 Melbourne emphatically said that "to leave the whole agricultural interest without protection was the wildest and maddest scheme that ever entered into the imagination of man to conceive."

When Peel became premier in 1841 he was quite willing to modify the sliding scale still further, but he could not accept Villiers' amendment for total repeal when he carried through his new sliding scale in 1842, as he realized that it was by no means certain that the supplies of cheap foreign wheat so confidently promised by Cobden would be available in time of war. In 1843 the Anti-Corn Law League began monthly meetings in Covent Garden Theatre and made many converts, but no one foresaw how near the crisis actually was. Towards the end of 1845 it was realized that the harvest was everywhere very bad for the first time since 1841, and that in Ireland the potato crop—the main food of quite half the population—had failed entirely. Peel had previously been somewhat shaken in his views by Cobden's arguments, and probably the Irish famine only hastened his conversion. He now realized that the possible famine in time of war was less important than the actual famine in time of peace. As has been already described, he broke with his party on the

question of repeal, but by the help of Russell and the Whigs he was able to carry his Bill to abolish all import duties on corn after three years, save a nominal registration duty of one shilling (June 25, 1846).

Before his death on July 2, 1850, Peel had repaid Russell by four years of steady support against the Protectionists, whose real leader was now Disraeli. The poor remnants of the Navigation Laws as left by Huskisson in 1823 were repealed in 1849; English manufacturers and shipping were quite strong enough to dispense with their aid, but probably their importance in the building up of the mercantile marine is too often underestimated. Gladstone, Peel's disciple, introduced his first Free Trade Budget in 1853 as Lord Aberdeen's Chancellor of the Exchequer, and, favoured by the "leaps and bounds of trade" during the succeeding decades, was able to complete his master's work and introduce the system of a tariff for revenue only. In 1853 Gladstone pointed out the use of the income-tax as a means of financing future wars, although, in common with Cobden and Bright, he believed that war was a barbarous expedient for settling disputes among civilized nations, and that soon the bonds of commerce would be too strong to be broken.

Both Peel and Cobden had hoped, and indeed Cobden had prophesied, that once England had set the example other civilized nations would hasten to throw down their tariff barriers. Cobden believed honestly enough that the chance to find a free market in England for their corn and raw materials would make countries such as the United States and Russia less eager to establish native manufactures which might threaten British trade. However, both the Americans and the German Zollverein, or customs union, as well as the Russians attempted to foster native industries by tariffs, and France was highly protectionist. Free Traders maintained that, even so, the new policy should be retained as being best for England, and that it was quite possible to fight hostile tariffs by free imports. Cobden had refused to accept Palmerston's offer of the Board of Trade, but he eagerly fell in with a suggestion that he should go in a semi-public capacity to France, whose Emperor, Napoleon III, desiring England's friendship, professed to be ready to negotiate a commercial treaty with the United Kingdom. In the face of the keenest opposition from the Protectionist manufacturers and many politicians,

Napoleon III allowed Cobden to draw up the famous Reciprocity Treaty known by his name in 1860.

The Cobden Treaty was not ostensibly a departure from free-trade principles, for when Gladstone issued the tariff of 1860 he professedly only completed the work of 1853 and abolished the last vestiges of the old protective duties. Actually, although all nations were equally free in England's market, Gladstone, as part of the bargain with Napoleon III, considerably lowered the duties on wine and brandy, which only France could send to England, in return for a promise by the Emperor to change the policy of actually prohibiting the entrance into France of certain staple British exports into one of comparatively low duties. So successful was the treaty that, despite criticism from various Free Traders, similar reciprocity treaties were concluded with Belgium, the German Zollverein, and other states during the next few years, until the English advocates of reciprocity could almost maintain that they were leading the European nations to adopt by slow degrees sound economic principles, since they were becoming linked together by the various treaties. However, the Cobden Treaty was unpopular in France, and was almost solely due to the Emperor's desire for English friendship; in other lands affected by reciprocity treaties, native manufacturers resented the advantages obtained by England through the advanced state of her manufactures. After the Franco-German War the Cobden Treaty was considerably modified, to England's disadvantage, by the Republican Government, and gradually the other treaties lapsed or became useless when the desire for revenue to sustain their conscript armies led the nations of Europe to revert to high protection, which was also designed to foster native industries. Soon only the advantage of the "most favoured nation" clause was left to the United Kingdom, whose Government, however, steadily refused to revert to protection as a means of regaining the lost power to bargain for reduced duties.

The United Kingdom, or at least Great Britain, undoubtedly prospered greatly during the latter half of the nineteenth century, although there was no decided fall in the price of wheat till after the American Civil War, when the introduction of the Bessemer steel rail opened up the wheat lands of the United States by rendering less costly the "long haul" to the coast. As increased trade made return cargoes profitable,

the price of wheat steadily fell and completed the ruin of the older English agriculture. There were bitter complaints, especially during the 'fifties and 'seventies, but when Disraeli was in power he refused to revert to protection. Critics of "Cobdenism" have insisted that the prevailing tariff system is one of "free imports" only and not of free trade, and maintain that England's phenomenal prosperity was due to her advantages over other nations in skilled labour, machinery, and accumulated capital. They point out that England's greatest advance was made during the 'fifties and 'sixties, when the Continent was convulsed with disorder, and so commercial expansion impossible; and they insist that other nations, especially the United States and Germany, have made relatively greater progress than the United Kingdom in recent years.

However, no proposals for the re-introduction of protection either in manufactures or agriculture obtained a hearing until recent years, although there was a very active "Fair-trade" movement during the 'eighties. Lord Salisbury, like Disraeli, realized that the democracy would refuse to sanction any proposals that might increase the price of food, and the English Labour leaders, unlike their fellows in America and Australia, distrusted State interference with industry, except in the case of factory legislation. When some members of the Imperial Federation League tentatively suggested a reorganization of the empire on the lines of the German Zollverein they broke up the league, and it was not till 1903 that Chamberlain, the Unionist Colonial Secretary, finding it impossible to get the self-governing colonies to accept a Zollverein on free-trade lines, proposed his scheme of Tariff Reform, under which a moderate protective tariff both on manufactures and agricultural products should be introduced, in which preference should be given to the colonies in return for similar preference received from them.

Chamberlain's scheme was not well thought out, and caused a split in the Unionist Party; and the consequent success of the Liberals at the polls, due largely to the workers' fear of food taxes, would have put his scheme outside practical politics even if his own physical break-down had not removed him from the arena. His proposals, so far as they attempted to regain bargaining power by the re-imposition of import duties, were more favourably received than the rest of the scheme, for American and especially German competition had alarmed

many manufacturers, and even in 1887 a Merchandise Marks Act had been passed with a view to preventing the baser forms of competition. However, although there would probably be strong opposition to the formal re-introduction of a protective tariff, there seems to be less unwillingness than formerly to admit State action in the case of certain important industries. Free traders have accepted government assistance for the purpose of financing experiments in growing cotton within the borders of the empire, and the war of 1914 led to a proposal that the State should partially finance a scheme for the manufacture of chemical dyes used in industry but unprocurable from Germany during the war. If successful, such a scheme might be developed in connection with other industries, and on extended lines under the direction of a reorganized Board of Trade.

4. *Education.* — Scotland had possessed a national system of education since 1696, but in England education was left for nearly two hundred years longer to the care of private individuals. However, the Act of 1870 represented the result of a rivalry between Anglicans and Dissenters which had run through all English educational efforts since the beginning of the century. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in 1698, and similar organizations had helped to create a system of charity schools during the eighteenth century wholly inadequate in number. In 1781 the Dissenter Robert Raikes of Gloucester had begun the system of Sunday Schools which taught the poor the elements of secular education, and in 1796 Dr. Shute Barrington, Bishop of Durham, had helped Sir Thomas Bernard to found the "Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor," which soon turned its chief attention to education. Two years later the Quaker Joseph Lancaster had begun his first school in Borough Road, Southwark, which finally developed into the "Royal Lancasterian Society" in 1808, and in 1810 into the "British and Foreign Schools Society." His system, by which the brighter children —known as monitors—were set to teach the less advanced, was closely akin to that of Dr. Bell, who had been an Anglican missionary in Madras, and Bell's efforts resulted in the formation in 1811 of the "National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church."

Lancaster's lectures on his system of education were most successful and enlisted the sympathy of Robert Owen, who

later instituted schools at New Lanark. In 1807 Whitbread vainly tried to persuade Parliament to establish a system of parish schools, but religious rivalry for many years restricted the care of education to private societies. It was not till 1833 that the first State grant of £20,000 was made, and this sum was shared annually by the two rival societies until 1839, when the grant was increased to £30,000, and a committee of the Privy Council was formed under a vice-president and a secretary with power to inspect State-aided schools. The new policy of State inspection was most unpopular at first, but, thanks to the tact of Dr. Kay-Shuttleworth, the secretary, the National Society gave way in 1840 and the British and Foreign Schools Society three years later. In 1844 the State began to make building grants for Denominational Training Colleges, as the scheme for a State Normal School had had to be abandoned in 1840. In 1843 a Government Bill for the compulsory education of pauper and factory children in parish schools had to be abandoned because the Dissenters feared it would increase the influence of the parish priest. For many years the Dissenters persisted in opposing State-controlled education, and the Congregationalists did not accept a grant for their schools till 1867.

Meanwhile, the failure of voluntary efforts to provide education became more and more evident both in quantity and quality. In 1846 the monitorial system was so obviously inadequate that it was replaced by the system of pupil teachers borrowed from Holland. The award of Queen's Scholarships to the better pupil teachers was instituted, and the State agreed to pay part of the training of teachers in denominational colleges. In 1853 the principle of a capitation grant for efficient schools was introduced, and the State grant towards education had become £800,000 by 1860. The Newcastle Commission of 1856–61 recommended the levying of a rate by a non-representative Board of Education appointed by Quarter Sessions in the county areas, and by the Councils in the case of large towns. However, the Government fell back on centralization, and in 1861 Robert Lowe, who was Vice-President of the Privy Council, that is, Minister of Education, introduced the disastrous Revised Code which decreed the policy of "payment for results." For many years afterwards education became little better than *inculcation*, and teachers and scholars alike suffered under the strain. It was

not until the introduction of the Block grant in 1904 and the substitution of irregular inspection for Lowe's system of yearly examination that education in the true sense of the word became at all possible.

Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, was pledged to economy, and by 1865 the grant to education had fallen to £635,000. However, the relapse was but temporary, and when the second Reform Bill of 1867 had been passed it was clearly time to "educate our masters," the new democracy. Existing schools were neither efficient nor universal, and many of the Liberals raised a cry for free compulsory and unsectarian education. Gladstone, as a High Churchman and a Liberal, sympathized with some of the demands both of the Voluntaryists and their opponents, and in 1870 Forster, the new vice-president, introduced the first Education Bill which, although continuing the system of government grants to denominational schools, allowed voluntary efforts to be supplemented in districts where a majority of the inhabitants desired it, or where school accommodation was deficient, by a system of schools erected and managed by elective School Boards, which had power to levy a rate to cover expenses. The Birmingham League, representing Dissenters, bitterly opposed the Bill, and the Government attempted to meet their objections by inserting a conscience clause which enabled children to be withdrawn from religious instruction in State-aided voluntary schools, and by the famous Cowper-Temple clause, under which "all catechisms and distinctive dogmatic formularies are excluded from rate-aided schools." The latter clause bitterly offended the Anglicans, and led to an unseemly denominational struggle at the various School Board elections which did not help the cause of education.

However, slowly but surely the educational system of England improved after 1870, and an Act passed in 1876 provided indirect facilities for making education compulsory. In 1891 education in Board Schools was made free, and the stress on the finances of Voluntary Schools became more pronounced when they had to lower or abolish their fees and to compete for scholars with the Board Schools, which were better equipped for their work, since they could obtain funds from the local rates. Moreover, the standard of the elementary schools was being steadily raised, although as yet higher or secondary education could not be financed from the rates.

When the Local Government Act of 1888 created County Councils it made possible an universal democratic authority more satisfactory than the sporadic School Boards with their small area and bitter sectarian strife. In 1889 the Welsh Intermediate Act gave the Welsh County Councils power to aid education other than elementary, and the prevailing depression in trade led men to desire more and better technical education. As a result an Act was passed in 1890 which gave the local authorities power to appoint Technical Education Committees who were to dispense a treasury grant, known from its source as "whisky money," to aid technical education.

However, it was long before any formal provision was made for secondary education, which, apart from the great public schools such as Eton and Harrow, scarcely existed even for boys, and the London School Board had for many years deliberately overstepped their powers, and provided other than primary education in pupil teachers centres, until the practice was formally stopped by the "Cockerton Judgment" in 1901. Pupil teachers centres were afterwards legalized as a temporary measure, and finally, in 1902, a highly controversial Education Act was passed which gave the County and County Borough Councils large powers to provide for secondary as well as for primary education. The Act of 1902 allowed efficient voluntary, or non-provided schools as they were now called, to be aided from the rates, but neither Anglicans nor Dissenters were contented, for by the Kenyon-Slaney clause it was laid down that the control of religious instruction in non-provided schools should be in the hands of six managers, two of whom were to be appointed by the Local Education Authority, and that a religious test should only hold good in the case of the head master of such schools. School Boards were abolished, and the local control of education was placed in the hands of a committee of the County or County Borough Councils, which had power to co-opt a certain number of outside members. Since the passing of this Act education, both primary and secondary, has greatly improved, although the amount spent on secondary education is ludicrously small in proportion, and many of the secondary schools are still the result of private enterprise or philanthropy. On the return of the Liberals to power in 1906, a succession of fruitless attempts were made to amend the Act, especially in the direc-

tion of absorbing the non-provided—now mainly Anglican—schools in a national system of education, and liberal grants were made for the building of large training colleges by the local education authorities to supply sufficient trained teachers for the rapidly increasing schools. Less controversial measures were those that provided for the feeding of necessitous school children, and for the medical inspection of all scholars.

University education for many years fared even worse than secondary education. Oxford and Cambridge were close Anglican preserves until the abolition of University tests in 1871. The unsectarian London University could not obtain its charter until 1836, and for many years the only other University in England was that of Durham, founded in 1831 by the Dean and Chapter. The government and curriculum of Oxford and Cambridge were improved by statutes in 1854 and 1856 respectively, but it was not till 1878 that women could obtain degrees, even at London. Girton College for Women was founded at Cambridge in 1872, and was followed in 1875 by Newnham College also at Cambridge, and by Lady Margaret Hall and Somerville College at Oxford in 1878. Meanwhile, in the 'seventies the newer Universities and University Colleges had begun to spring up, and they increased in the 'eighties. Owens College, Manchester, was the earliest, and together with colleges at Leeds and Liverpool formed the Federal Victoria University, although later it split up into three separate Universities. A similar Federal University was formed in Wales. Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, and Sheffield all now possess local Universities, and there are University Colleges at Nottingham, Reading, and Southampton, while the Armstrong University College and the Medical College at Newcastle have joined with the older Durham Colleges in a reorganized University of Durham. The curricula of the newer Universities and University Colleges are much wider than those of the older institutions, and provide for the teaching of science, both pure and applied, to a greater extent than at Oxford and Cambridge, while their Arts Course is largely taken by elementary and secondary teachers from the training colleges often attached very closely to them. The newer Universities, although legally private corporations, receive a varying but always inadequate amount of financial support from the Treasury and the various local governing bodies, which will need to be largely increased if they are

efficiently to perform the work of bringing the highest form of education within reach of all fitted to benefit by it.

Almost as important in some ways as actual provision of education has been the abolition of "Taxes on knowledge," which took place in the nineteenth century. The Press had been free since the Licensing Act ran out in 1695, and Fox's Libel Act of 1792 allowed the accused the right to appeal to the jury both on the question of publication and of fact, but later legislation, especially the "Six Acts" of 1819, had sternly curbed the freedom of the Press by fresh laws to punish blasphemous and seditious libels and to impose a heavy stamp duty on political newspapers, and there were also duties on newspaper advertisements. It was no longer possible for newspapers to reach the circulation of Cobbett's *Weekly Register*, which was 50,000 in 1817, but the Radicals defied the law by selling unstamped publications, despite the savage punishments they often received. Not till 1836 was the stamp duty reduced, and it was only abolished in 1855. The advertisement duty was taken off in 1853, but there still remained the difficulty of a heavy paper duty. In 1861 the paper duty was removed, and cheap literature and a cheap press became possible. Soon the invention of improved processes of printing and paper-making and the development of the telegraph and telephone systems led to the appearance of the penny and even halfpenny daily newspaper which, thanks to the spread of elementary education, enabled the working man to keep in touch with world movements and so widen his ideas. In 1842 an Act had been passed which placed the law of copyright on a sounder basis, and of recent years a further amendment of the law of copyright and the introduction of cheap translations and reprints have placed all that is best in the world's literature within easy reach even of the poorest. Other legislation has allowed local governing bodies to provide libraries, museums and art galleries, for it is generally agreed now that ignorance is the greatest foe to true liberty.

5. *Socialism and Trade Unionism.* — Robert Owen, the pioneer of the Factory Acts, may also be called the founder of English Socialism, and he moreover largely influenced the development of co-operation and trade unionism. His ideas were too crude and nebulous to be adopted in their entirety, and his Utopianism was eventually abandoned for a less ambitious but more practical series of reforms. Indeed, in

England neither the Revolutionary Socialism of Louis Blanc nor the Philosophic Socialism of Karl Marx was any more desirable in the eyes of the working man than the Utopianism of Owen. He desired a programme more immediately practicable, and Socialism in England developed on the peaceful lines of the Rochdale pioneers, who opened their first co-operative store in 1844. Co-operation among the workers, both for production and distribution, had been warmly favoured by Christian Socialists such as Maurice, Hughes, and Kingsley during the time of the Chartist agitation, but co-operative production has been no more a success in England than abroad.

The passing of the first Reform Bill in 1832 led the English working classes to see that democracy would be ultimately possible in England, and their efforts were turned to the realization of that ideal rather than to the vaguer propaganda of Socialism. Once they controlled Parliament, the workers would be able to obtain legislation which would secure their economic position by giving a free hand to trade-union organization. The Acts of 1824 and 1825 had indeed made it possible to form trade unions, yet by common law they were illegal organizations if they tried to obtain an increase of wages for their members by a threat to strike. Men on strike were liable to be proceeded against under the law of "Master and Servant," and even peaceful picketing was attended with great risk. In 1834 six labourers of Tolpuddle, in Dorsetshire, were arrested for attempting to form an Agricultural Labourers' Union on terms which technically went beyond the narrow bounds of the Act of 1825, and were sentenced to transportation. Public opinion forced the Melbourne Government to grant them a free pardon, but the victims only learnt the news three years afterwards by a lucky accident, which threw an old newspaper in their way.

At first there were fruitless attempts to form a great trades union—that is, a union consisting of different kinds of craftsmen, but generally workers of the separate crafts were content to unite in small local unions, which were not only too feeble to oppose the employers, but were also being continually robbed by their officials, as their funds had no legal protection. Gradually the smaller unions of the same craft coalesced and formed amalgamated societies such as that of the Engineers, which dates from 1850. During the 'sixties, under able leaders such as Applegarth, Allen, and Odgers—

the trade-union junta of London—the unions conserved their funds, and strikes on unimportant points became rare. The workers as a whole began to realize the value of skilled leadership and obedience to rules, but unfortunate outrages at Sheffield and elsewhere in 1867 cost them some amount of popular sympathy. The result was that, although Parliament in 1867 safeguarded the funds of unions from dishonest officials and in 1868 radically modified the law of "Master and Servant" by making most instances of breach of contract merely civil and not criminal offences, and even in 1871 formally recognized trade unions as legal corporations on easy conditions, the feeling against trade unions was still strong enough amongst the capitalist members of the Liberal Party in 1871 to allow of the passing of the Criminal Law Amendment Act in a form which adversely affected the trade union position. The Act indirectly revived some of the harsher features of the old Combination Laws, and probably contributed to the defeat of the Gladstone Government in 1874. Disraeli, who desired to conciliate the workers, passed through Parliament a useful series of Labour Laws in 1875, and in 1876 amended the the Act of 1871 in the direction desired by the trade-union leaders.

The laws passed by Disraeli proved to be a charter under which trade unionism flourished, and during the next twenty years or so most skilled and many unskilled workmen were organized in large or small unions. At first some English trade unionists had affiliated themselves with the "International Society of Working Men," founded in 1864 by the Socialist Karl Marx, but even before the "International" broke up through the quarrels of the Socialists with the Anarchists in 1873 the English members had fallen away. In England, trade unions were by no means revolutionary bodies, and generally took advantage of the special Act of 1876 to build up a system of out-of-work and unemployment benefits, as well as prepared for strikes and lock-outs. Indeed, in the North of England the more important trade-union leaders and the wiser masters gradually worked out a system of industrial peace. Under elaborate but well-understood regulations, disputes are settled as far as possible without strikes, and there have even been made tentative proposals for a system of co-partnership in certain skilled industries.

It is unfortunate that trade unionism has been least suc-

cessful in the case of the more unskilled and so generally the worst paid forms of labour. Despite the temporary success of Joseph Arch, the agricultural labourer has never been able to rely on a strong trade union, and although of recent years the dockers and transport workers generally have obtained somewhat better conditions of employment, the success of the London Dock Strike in 1889 was due largely to the support of the general public. Later attempts of organizations, such as the Transport Workers' Union, to secure concessions by concerted movements almost equal to a national strike, have not been so successful, as they evoked opposition by extreme demands. From the time of the Dock Strike of 1889, the movement known as the New Unionism has come to the fore. It has been most popular among the less skilled workers, and, abandoning the policy of conciliation and compromise favoured by the older trade unions, seeks to gain concessions from employers by "direct action," that is, by strikes. It has much in common with the contemporary French movement known as Syndicalism, whose supporters demand that the workmen in each trade should control the exercise of their craft solely in their own interest with a view to the ultimate expropriation of the employing class. However, in England, Syndicalism in its French extremer forms has been opposed by many of the trade-union leaders.

More important than Syndicalism is the movement for direct labour representation in Parliament, referred to in a previous chapter. The older trade-union leaders had generally been Liberal in politics, and even when Burt and Macdonald secured seats in Parliament, at the election of 1874, they sat as Advanced Liberals. However, the trade depression of the 'eighties led to a movement for the formation of a Socialist-Labour Party on the lines of the German Social-Democrats. The movement met with little success until the organization of the Labour Representation Committee in 1900, itself the result of an alliance between the Socialist Independent Labour Party, first formed in 1893, and the trade unions. In 1906 it formally adopted the name of the Labour Party.

In 1901 the judge's decision in the "Taff Vale" case, which allowed a trade union to be sued *as such* for the misdeeds of its members, was upheld by the House of Lords, and the new Labour Party got its chance. Even Conservative trade unionists saw the danger threatening their accumulated funds through

this decision, and at the election of 1906 twenty-nine Labour members were returned. The Liberal Government, after some hesitation, passed the Trades Disputes Act, which practically conceded the Labour Party's demands. Having secured this point, the Conservative section of the trade unionists began to lose interest in the Labour Party, and in 1909 the "Osborne Judgment" accepted their view that compulsory levies for the support of Labour Members of Parliament were illegal. This time the Liberal Government refused to pass legislation to reverse the decision, but in 1911 the payment of Members of Parliament was instituted, which gave the new Labour Party in Parliament the means of support, although the prohibition of a compulsory levy seriously affected its representation on local governing bodies.

CHAPTER III

FOREIGN POLICY

From 1832 the constitution of the United Kingdom was for many years the most liberal in Europe, and it formed a pattern which Continental Liberals sought to imitate, although their own sovereigns for the most part thought that the Act of 1832 presaged the immediate downfall of British monarchy. Louis-Philippe, King of the French after 1830, desired to pose as the liberal ruler of a land where, as in the United Kingdom, the twin forces of Liberalism and Nationality were given scope, and for many years he pleased his subjects by seeking an alliance with the old time foe of France. He therefore abandoned French ambitions in Belgium, Spain, and the Near East, and was so far successful that the *entente cordiale*, or cordial understanding, seemed to be sealed by the visits which he and Queen Victoria paid to each other. However, he preferred the success of his dynastic policy to the preservation of the *entente*, and he and Guizot, despite clear warnings from Palmerston, who had been the Foreign Minister since 1830, that the Treaty of Utrecht still held good, attempted to marry his son to Isabella, the young Queen of Spain. When that scheme proved impossible he persuaded Isabella's mother to agree to the marriage of the young queen to her sickly cousin, by

whom she was not likely to have any children, while on the same day her sister Louisa married the son of Louis-Philippe.

This trick turned both Palmerston and Queen Victoria against the French alliance, and soon afterwards, when Louis-Philippe, in search of new friends, allied with the reactionary powers on behalf of the rebellious Swiss cantons of the Sonderbund, Palmerston cleverly prevented their active interference in the struggle by delaying his reply to their request for assistance in a collective mediation until the Liberal cantons had crushed the Sonderbund. Louis-Philippe's subjects were disgusted at his foreign policy and at his unpopular rule at home, and soon afterwards he lost his throne.

Only in France and Belgium had the European Liberals been at all successful in the widespread revolutions of 1830, and when a similar series of movements in 1848 and 1849 were in the end even less successful, despite his lavish advice and sometimes actual help, Palmerston somewhat lost patience with the revolutionaries. He himself was by no means an Advanced Liberal in home affairs, and his foreign policy, although it somewhat resembled Canning's in patronizing almost too ostentatiously liberal movements abroad, was due less to his love of democracy than to his pride in the institutions of his own country which chanced to be liberal. He was ultra-patriotic and insular in his ideas, and perhaps in his zeal for what he considered England's interests he showed too little regard for the feelings of other nations. Probably English hostility to Russia was largely fostered by Palmerston, who, fearing possible danger to British power in India from Russian designs on the Balkans and Constantinople, never seriously studied the Near-Eastern problem save from that point of view, and led his fellow-countrymen to think that Turkey could reform itself from within if only defended by Britain against Russia.

Palmerston's tendency to act on his own responsibility in foreign affairs without consulting the Queen, or at least without taking into account any modifications of his policy suggested by the Queen or his colleagues, had brought upon him a severe rebuke from the former in 1850. However, the lesson was soon forgotten, and when the new French Government set up by Prince Napoleon after the treacherous *coup d'état* on December 2, 1851 was recognized by Palmerston without the consent of the Queen and his colleagues having first been

obtained, Russell, the Premier, insisted on Palmerston's resignation. The fallen minister soon obtained his revenge, for the French nation, weary of the anarchy that had reigned in France since the fall of Louis-Philippe, acquiesced with some degree of enthusiasm in the action of the Prince-President. Russell, fearing lest France under a Bonaparte might be dangerous to England, attempted to reorganize the militia, but was defeated by an amendment proposed by Palmerston, and resigned in February 1852.

After the stop-gap first Derby Ministry, room was found for both Russell and Palmerston in the Aberdeen Coalition Ministry, and Russell, as Foreign Minister, had to acquiesce in the assumption by Napoleon III of the Imperial title after it had been ratified by the French nation in a *plébiscite*. However, even when Russell resigned the office, the new Foreign Secretary was Clarendon, and Palmerston had to content himself with the Home Office as before. The ministry was divided into a Peace Party under the Premier, and a War Party led, of course, by Palmerston, and it was perhaps unfortunate that the English minister at Constantinople, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe (Stratford Canning) shared Palmerston's suspicion of Russia and his belief in the Turks' power of self-reform.

The Russian people belonged to the Orthodox Greek Church, and resented bitterly the oppression which their Balkan co-religionists suffered at the hands of the Turks. The Czar had vainly tried to persuade England of his own good faith, and desired nothing better than to solve the Eastern question in alliance with the English by a partition of the Turkish dominions. However, the Conservatives distrusted Russia's sincerity in offering Egypt to England, as the Czar was known to have intrigued with the Afghans, while the Liberals could not forget that he had lent the Austrians the army which had crushed the liberties of Hungary after the revolution of 1848. This attitude of the two English parties admirably suited the plans of Napoleon III. He desired a war with Russia, partly to obtain revenge for the Czar's tardy acknowledgment of his empire, and partly to turn the attention of the French from constitutional and internal problems by the glory of a victorious foreign war. England's alliance against Russia would be most helpful in the war and popular with the French.

The Aberdeen Ministry was largely the dupe of Napoleon

III in the Crimean War. His quarrel with Russia was ostensibly on behalf of the old French claim to protect the Latin Christians, which conflicted with the Russian claim to protect the Greek Christians. As both the Latins and the Greeks claimed the exclusive control of certain "Holy Places" in and near Jerusalem, the Sultan would be unable to decide in favour of either party without offending either France or Russia. Napoleon III cleverly confused Russia's claim to protect the Greek Christians with her ultimate ambition to occupy as much of the Turkish Empire as possible, and attempts at a compromise on the question of the "Holy Places" fell through, as Menschikoff, the Czar's ambassador at Constantinople, had raised an old Russian claim to protect the Greek Christians throughout the Turkish Empire which was based on a doubtful interpretation of the treaty of 1774. Stratford de Redcliffe was far abler than the Russian minister, and led the latter to put his case so offensively that he not only caused the Sultan to reject it, but also lost Russia the sympathy of Austria. When it was too late, the Czar found out, to his great surprise, that England really meant to protect Turkey and support France by war.

Russia, to enforce her demands, had occupied the Danubian Principalities and had destroyed a Turkish fleet at Sinope, in the Black Sea. A defeat by the Turks at Oltenitza aroused her national pride, and led her to reject an ultimatum from London. By precipitate action at Sinope, she had played into the hands of Napoleon III and driven England into a policy on the Near-Eastern question that produced trouble all round in the future. Great Britain was pledged to support the corrupt Turkish Government which she proved unable to reform. France, and later, for its own ends Sardinia, supported Great Britain in the war, but Austria and Prussia remained neutral for a similar reason. Few students of foreign politics now defend England's attitude in 1854, especially when the Treaty of Paris is taken into consideration.

The ostensible object of the war, the expulsion of the Russians from Turkey's Balkan lands, was soon accomplished, but the Allies determined to destroy Russia's great fortress of Sebastopol in the south-west of the Crimean peninsula, from which she dominated the Black Sea and threatened Constantinople. Although the Allies forced a landing north of Sebastopol and defeated the Russians at the river Alma in

September 1854, neither Lord Raglan, the British Commander, nor Marshal St. Arnaud, his French colleague, showed military skill, and after delaying the attack on the city until it had been too strongly fortified to be taken by assault, they had to make a long flank march by land to the south of the fortress and carry on a regular siege. The rest of the war is only conspicuous for the dogged bravery of the allied troops and the utter incapacity of their commanders. The battle of Balaclava was really an attempt on the part of the Russians to cut off the British troops in the trenches from their base on the shore several miles away. Two picturesque cavalry charges will live long in history. Outnumbered at least three to one, the Heavy Brigade of cavalry broke through the Russian horsemen and drove them to retreat. Less useful but more picturesque was the famous Charge of the Light Brigade: the misunderstanding of an order led the "gallant six hundred" to ride down a literal Valley of Death flanked on either side by Russian artillery, and barely two hundred returned after capturing and for a time holding the guns at the far end of the valley.

The base at Balaclava was saved, although the only useful road to it was lost. The Russians, barely a fortnight later, attacked the British troops at Inkerman on Nov. 5, much nearer Sebastopol; owing to a dense fog the struggle was purely a "soldiers' battle," but the attack was beaten off by French help. The actual fighting, however, was the least important of the soldiers' hardships. During four of the worst winter months every requisite for either food or clothing could be obtained only in the smallest proportions, for hurricane storms ruined the rough roads, destroyed tents, and, worst of all, wrecked the ships that bore supplies for the army. Most of the transport animals, and many of the men themselves perished from the bitter cold. Naturally, the badly-equipped and under-staffed hospitals were filled to overflowing by cases of cholera, dysentery, and fever. War correspondents such as Russell, of the *Times*, at last told the people at home the true state of affairs. The Aberdeen Ministry fell on account of its incompetent management of the war, and Lord Palmerston, the advocate from the first of decisive measures against Russia, became Premier.

Fortune favoured Palmerston. Before he took office Florence Nightingale—the "Lady with the Lamp"—had taken

out a devoted band of nurses and established hospitals at Scutari, a suburb of Constantinople, and fresh troops and supplies were being poured into the Crimea. In March 1855 the Czar Nicholas died heart-broken at his failure. The Russian forces at Sebastopol had suffered terribly during the winter, and still greater had been the losses of the troops who had attempted to make the long land march from the interior of Russia. The new Czar, Alexander II, however, found himself unable to accept the Allies' terms, and the contest became one of endurance: the task of the Allies was to hold on to their positions until the Russians surrendered Sebastopol. Such a situation offered great scope for Palmerston's vigorous obstinacy, and in June 1855 Sebastopol was heavily though fruitlessly bombarded. However, by September the Allies were able to concentrate their attack on the two forts that were the keys of the Russian defence; the French captured the Malakoff, and therefore, although the British attack on the Redan failed, the Russians crossed over to the north side of the estuary on which Sebastopol was situated and abandoned the city (September 8, 1855).

The war was now practically over, although the gallant General Williams held the Turkish fortress of Kars in Asia Minor against the Russians until November. Russia was exhausted rather than defeated, but the British fleet had achieved nothing noteworthy either in the Baltic or the White Sea, and an invasion of Russia itself was impossible. A Peace Conference met at Paris, and on March 30, 1856, the Treaty of Paris was signed by all the belligerents. The European Powers solemnly guaranteed the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, although the Sultan in return agreed that the Danubian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia (the later kingdom of Roumania) should enjoy self-government, and also promised to improve the conditions of his Christian subjects. The Russians regained Sebastopol, but it was laid down that the Black Sea was to be neutral, and that no fortifications were to be built anywhere on its shores, nor might Russia keep a fleet in that sea.

Palmerston had obtained no direct advantage for England from the costly struggle with Russia. Napoleon III, in whose capital the Peace Conference met, carried off all the glory, and the birth of his son, the Prince Imperial, in that year seemed to establish his dynasty. Actually, the material gains

fell to the insignificant-looking Cavour, minister of the insignificant kingdom of Sardinia, who had forced his master, Victor Emanuel II, to send 15,000 troops to the Crimea in order that at the Peace Conference he might bring before Europe the oppression and misrule of the Austrians in their Italian province of Lombardo-Venetia. The Conference could only listen but not act, and even Palmerston had no desire to enter into a fresh war with Austria. However, Napoleon III, who had duped the English Cabinet, was henceforth himself the dupe of others. Cavour led him on step by step, often against his will, until he had pledged himself to aid in expelling Austria from Italy. The King of Sardinia bought the right to expand his own dominions into modern Italy by promising to surrender Nice and Savoy to Napoleon III and give his daughter in marriage to Napoleon's cousin.

For the next few years England had her hands full with the Indian Mutiny and the war with China. Her enthusiasm for Napoleon sensibly cooled, for when one of her foreign refugees, the Italian Felice Orsini, unsuccessfully attempted to murder the French Emperor, some of the latter's colonels used threatening language about England's protection of conspirators. Palmerston was even forced to resign when he attempted to conciliate the French Emperor by bringing in a Bill to make conspiracy to murder a felony. The second Derby Ministry vainly attempted to mediate between France and Austria on the Italian question, but Cavour forced on the war, and Austria, after defeats at Magenta and Solferino in 1859, surrendered Lombardy to France, to be handed over to Sardinia by Napoleon III. Fear of Prussian aggression on his eastern frontier led the French Emperor to attempt to abandon the more extensive plans of Cavour, but the latter bribed him by the cession of Nice and Savoy to allow Victor Emanuel II to annex the revolted districts of Romagna, Parma, Modena, and Tuscany.

When the news of the French annexations reached England the Queen and her subjects were furious. They felt that they had been tricked, for Napoleon had made an open attack on the balance of power in Europe. In fear lest England or Prussia might be the next country attacked by the victorious Emperor the ministry gave authority for the raising of corps of volunteers to resist possible invasion, and Napoleon was glad to attempt the conciliation of England by assenting to

the Cobden Treaty already referred to. In Italy, Napoleon had to be content with retaining Rome for the Pope, for in 1860 the heroic Garibaldi, secretly encouraged by Cavour and almost openly protected by the British fleet, had torn Sicily and Naples from their Bourbon ruler, while Cavour picked a quarrel with the Pope and occupied the Papal States. Palmerston was quite willing to acknowledge the new kingdom of Italy, which was proclaimed in March 1861, just before Cavour's death; but Napoleon III, like his predecessor Louis-Philippe, had to pay dearly for his foreign policy by loss of English support during the critical years which were now coming on.

Napoleon III was a well-meaning but far from able ruler whose mind had become warped into a preference for secret intrigue by the peculiar circumstances of his early life. Heir to the name and fortunes of his uncle, he had gained the French throne by a series of doubtful actions which only success could hope to justify. For a time favoured by the past troubles of France which made Frenchmen yearn for strong government, and helped by able, if rather unscrupulous ministers he achieved considerable success both at home and abroad. However, he was generally the victim rather than the master of his destiny, and his theory of national democracies which made him the tool of Cavour led him into a situation with which he was quite unfitted to cope. He probably had no aggressive designs against the United Kingdom, and even his acquisition of Nice and Savoy, and his scheming for the Rhine frontier, were due to a desire to strengthen his country and carry out the wishes of all Frenchmen. He even had some leanings towards constitutional government, and in the decade before his defeat he made more or less voluntary concessions to the Liberals. However, he lost his able advisers, and to secure the support of the French Roman Catholics he had to champion the Pope, and so offend the Italians, just as Prussia came under the control of the able Otto von Bismarck, who understood the French Emperor's weakness quite as well as Cavour.

Bismarck intended to expel Austria from Germany as Cavour had expelled her from Italy, and to make Prussia the head of a new Germany. Prussia and Austria had each aspired to control the German Confederation founded in 1815, and up to 1848 Austria had generally succeeded. The Prussian

king Frederick William IV had first patronized and then betrayed the German Liberals, and for the rest of his reign the Austrian Government kept Prussia in a state of dependence, thanks to that country's internal quarrels. When William I succeeded his brother as King of Prussia in January 1861 he chose Bismarck as his adviser, and the latter, with the brutal frankness so characteristic in him, announced his belief that the unity of Germany could not be achieved by speeches and debates, but only by blood and iron. In the teeth of bitter Liberal opposition he, aided by Von Moltke and Von Roon, reorganized the Prussian army. He realized that Austria had been too seriously weakened by her defeat in Italy to resist, if only Napoleon III could be persuaded to favour Prussia's schemes. For English interference he had a profound contempt, as he rightly foresaw that the middle-class Parliament, disheartened by the result of the Crimean War, would restrain Palmerston's warlike ardour, even if the German sympathies of the English Royal Family, strengthened by the marriage of the Princess Royal to the Prussian Crown Prince in 1858, were insufficient to do so.

Bismarck was undoubtedly an able and far-seeing statesman, but he was favoured greatly by circumstances. Austria's internal condition grew worse and worse, while Napoleon ruined his prestige by a hopeless attempt to found a Latin Empire in Mexico under the nominal rule of the Austrian Archduke Maximilian in 1861. The adventure was only possible because the American Civil War was raging; when the Northern States gained the upper hand they forced Napoleon to withdraw the French army supporting Maximilian, and the unfortunate prince was soon captured and shot by the troops of Juarez, the Republican leader. The English Government had at first assisted Napoleon in Mexico, as the ostensible pretext was to force the Mexicans to deal fairly with their European creditors, but it refused to attempt anything against the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine even when the Lancashire cotton operatives were starving because the ports of the Southern or Confederate States were being blockaded and the export of raw cotton prohibited.

In 1863 Napoleon III committed an even worse blunder, judged by its results. The Russian Poles, though quarrelling fiercely among themselves, attempted a rising to force the Czar to restore their ancient liberties. Napoleon III, perhaps

not wholly from selfish instincts, endeavoured to persuade Austria and England to join with him in a request to the Czar to respect the promises of liberty made to the Poles by Alexander I in 1815. As soon as the Czar discovered that England's remonstrances would not be backed up by force he disregarded Napoleon's protest, and Bismarck cleverly won Russia's sympathy for Prussia by proposing that as both countries had disaffected Polish subjects, they should take joint action against rebellion. However, even England's partial alliance with Napoleon III angered the Czar, and, as the Allies had cut short the chances of Russian expansion in the Near East, Russia's attention was turned more and more to the Middle-Eastern question—Persia and Turkestan—and the Far-Eastern Question—the future of the Chinese Empire.

Secured from interference by Russia, Bismarck inveigled Austria into undertaking a joint war against Denmark, whose king, Christian IX, had been allowed by the Powers to succeed to the throne of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein as well as that of Denmark, although under the Salic Law the Duke of Augustenburg had the better hereditary right, at least in German Holstein. Bismarck told later how he from the first planned to fix a quarrel upon Austria so as to be able to annex both duchies to Prussia for the sake of their harbours, and to expel Austria from Germany. Everything fell out as he planned, and the "Seven Weeks War" of 1866 saw Austria defeated at Königgrätz, or Sadowa, in Bohemia, and not only forced to withdraw from Germany, but also to surrender Venetia to Italy, who, by agreement with Bismarck, had declared war on her at the same time.

Bismarck had persuaded Napoleon III to remain neutral by promising not to unite Germany and by not openly refusing to listen to French demands for territorial compensation in the event of a Prussian victory. As the Zollverein, or German Customs Union, founded in 1819, had by 1866 placed all the German princes financially at least in the power of Prussia, Bismarck was content to organize the North German Confederation, which consisted of Prussia and the few independent states north of the river Main which had not been actually annexed by Prussia after her victory. The South German States were permitted to form a separate confederation, but Bismarck not only united them to the northern confederation in all but name by a drastic reorganization of the Zollverein,

but he also persuaded their rulers to put their troops at the disposal of Prussia by revealing to them Napoleon's demand for compensation at their expense.

During these eventful years England had played by no means a dignified part. The marriage of the Princess Royal of England to the Prussian Crown Prince Frederick had been followed by that of the Prince of Wales to Alexandra, daughter of Christian IX of Denmark, in 1863, and the English people as a whole now strongly sympathized with Denmark rather than with her opponents. An unfortunate speech by Palmerston, of which Bismarck cleverly made the most, led the Danes to risk the very war their enemy desired. Palmerston was now an old man, and Bismarck knew that he would not be able to translate his prescient threats into action. After his death in 1865 England was convulsed by the second reform struggle and the dispute with the United States over the escaped Confederate raiding cruiser the *Alabama*. Bismarck had a free hand during the eventful years in which he expelled Austria from Germany and prepared for the struggle in which Prussia was to unite Germany by a national victory over France.

When it was too late, Napoleon III realized how Bismarck had deceived him, but Bismarck knew even better than Napoleon that France was utterly unprepared for war. He had foiled a French scheme to buy Luxemburg from its ruler, the King of Holland, but he kept Napoleon in play with negotiations for possible French gains in Belgium until the vacancy on the Spanish throne gave him the chance to force on the war he wanted. The candidature of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen was obviously likely to be opposed by France, but when French protests were foolishly pressed into a demand that the prince should not in the future renew his candidature, Bismarck cleverly if unscrupulously altered the important Ems telegram in which the Prussian king informed him of his firm though courteous refusal, and caused it to be published in an abbreviated form which was intended to force the French to declare war.

Bismarck was certain of success, as he had the better army and had won Russia's benevolent neutrality by his attitude on the Polish question in 1863 and by his recent agreement which allowed Russia to tear up the irksome Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris. To isolate France still more in Europe he published a secret treaty in the handwriting of the French

diplomatist Benedetti by which France was to be allowed by Prussia to annex Belgium. It was useless for Benedetti to protest, with perfect truth, that the treaty had actually been written at the dictation of Bismarck, and France had to be content with securing England's neutrality by a formal promise not to violate Belgian soil. Bismarck willingly made the same promise, for the Prussian attack was planned to approach France by way of Alsace and Lorraine. In a few weeks the French were utterly defeated and Napoleon III himself captured at Sedan. Disorganized though they were, the French made the Germans buy their victories dearly, and, despite the mingled treachery and incompetency of Bazaine which led to the fall of Metz and the capture of the best French army in October 1870, Paris held out bravely against the ever-increasing numbers of the Germans from September 1870 till January 30, 1871, when it was forced to capitulate by famine. After Sedan, Napoleon III had been formally deposed, but the heroic efforts of Gambetta, though they resulted in the raising of several partially-trained provincial armies, were unable to relieve Paris or win a permanent triumph over the Germans. A National Assembly met at Bordeaux and decided to accept the German terms of peace. A few months later, by the formal Treaty of Frankfort, France agreed to surrender Alsace and the eastern part of Lorraine and pay a war indemnity of £200,000,000. Just before the fall of Paris King William of Prussia had been hailed "German Emperor" by the German princes assembled in the Hall of Mirrors at the palace of Versailles, but only after judicious pressure exercised by Bismarck on the King of Bavaria. For more than a generation Germany was to stand forth as the leading military power of Europe, while France, half-ruined by the war and the Socialist insurrection known as the "Commune of Paris" which followed it, was racked by the internecine faction fights of Royalists, Bonapartists, Republicans, and Socialists.

After the downfall of Napoleon III the United Kingdom adopted a policy of "splendid isolation" from the various quarrels and alliances of the Continent. During the rest of Bismarck's life peace was unbroken by Germany, for he was statesman enough to realize that a renewed attack on France would probably lead to a revival of the Anglo-French alliance, and might also be resented by Russia. He had his hands full at home with the Roman Catholic Church and the Social

Democrats, but he was not satisfied merely with keeping the various European States at variance lest they should unite against Prussia. At first he attempted to form an alliance of the three Emperors of Germany, Russia, and Austria, but as Russia and Austria had rival policies in the Balkans, Bismarck cleverly if unscrupulously made a formal alliance with Austria in 1879 against Russia and constructively against Russia and France, and a secret treaty of re-insurance with Russia soon afterwards. In 1882 he used French interference in Tunis to bind her rival Italy with Germany and Austria in the professedly defensive Triple Alliance which made him for a time Dictator of Europe.

The League of the Three Emperors broke up on the Near-Eastern question. It has been already stated that by the Treaty of Paris in 1856 the Powers renounced the claim to interfere in Turkey, but England and France had desired to create an independent state of Roumania, which might block the way for Russian aggression. When Austria and Turkey insisted that the two provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, although self-governing, should be separate they only tempted Napoleon III to intrigue. Next year, 1859, he brought about the election of a common "hospodar," or prince—a Roumanian named Colonel Alexander Couza—and the Italian War tied Austria's hands. By 1862 the Sultan had to recognize the formal union of the two provinces and be content with tribute. However, after seven years of turbulence, Napoleon's candidate was forced to abdicate, and the Roumanians elected Carol I as his successor. He was Prince Karl of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, who flung himself ardently into the work of regenerating his adopted country, and when the Eastern question was reopened in 1875 his well-drilled army made him a useful ally.

During 1875 the bankrupt Turkish Government had oppressed the peasants of Bosnia and Herzegovina so cruelly that, aided by their Slav brethren of Serbia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria, they revolted. The Serbians also by this time enjoyed a considerable measure of self-government, and the unification of Italy led to a general upheaval of the Balkan peoples which the Turks failed to put down, despite gross cruelty. The Great Powers attempted to mediate, but the Balkan peoples would not trust the Turks, and Disraeli, the English Prime Minister, took up Palmerston's policy and

refused to join in putting pressure on the Turks and insisting on real reforms.

Meanwhile, in March 1876 the reigning Sultan, Abdul Aziz, was deposed, but after three months his nephew and successor, Murad V, shared his fate, and another nephew, Abdul Hamid II, became Sultan. The new ruler was a subtle diplomatist, who knew at once how to pander to the strong nationalism that had given him the throne and how to set the Great Powers at variance by intrigue and apparent concessions. When the Christians of Bulgaria, maddened by the oppression of the Turkish officials, rose in rebellion soon after his accession they were delivered over to the tender mercies of the Bashi-Bazouks, or Turkish irregular soldiery, and the "Bulgarian Atrocities" that followed drew Gladstone from his retirement. In flaming language he denounced "the unspeakable Turk," and advocated the policy of Turkish expulsion from Europe "bag and baggage." Disraeli had to modify his pro-Turkish policy, but unfortunately, jealousy of Russia prevented him from supporting the oppressed peoples.

Naturally, if rashly, little Montenegro and Serbia formally declared war on Turkey in July 1876, and thousands of Russian volunteers went to help their co-religionists. However, Turkish numbers prevailed, and at last Alexander II of Russia, after trying to propitiate England by promising not to seize Constantinople, declared war on Turkey in April 1877. At once Roumania declared her complete independence, and Serbia and Montenegro joined her in support of Russia. The Turks, hoping for British help as in 1854, made a stubborn defence. Osman Pasha held up 120,000 Russians for five months before Plevna, the key to the Bulgarian road-system, with an army barely one-third that number, and did not surrender till December. But numbers were now against the Turks, and when the Russians captured Adrianople the Sultan, on March 3, 1877, assented to the Treaty of San Stefano, by which he acknowledged the complete independence of Roumania, Serbia, and Montenegro, yielding increased territories to the last two. Bulgaria was made a tributary but self-governing state, and was to include all the rest of the Balkans, except Greece and a narrow and broken coastal strip.

This generosity to Bulgaria aroused the jealousy of the Serbians and Greeks as probably the Sultan expected, and wrecked the scheme. Even the Roumanians turned against

Russia when they were asked to cede to her part of fertile Bessarabia in exchange for the Dobrudscha swamps at the mouth of the Danube. England's jealousy of Russia and Austria's desire for Bosnia and Herzegovina led those Powers to veto the treaty, and demand that the Eastern Question should be settled by a European Conference. Disraeli went so far as to threaten Russia by bringing Indian troops to Malta, and the Czar, who had not been unwilling to appease Austria by concessions, decided to yield. Bismarck decided that Germany had no interest in the Balkan Question, and then, offering Berlin as a meeting-place for the Conference, determined to use the quarrel of Austria and England with Russia for his country's interest.

Disraeli boasted that he had brought back peace with honour from the Congress of Berlin of June 1878, but actually the delegates only registered the terms of a secret treaty between England and Russia. The Berlin treaty, signed July 13, 1878, gave complete independence to Roumania, Serbia, and Montenegro, but Greater Bulgaria was divided into three parts, one of which—Macedonia—was left to the Sultan, while of the other two, one—the northern—was to be under a prince elected by the Bulgarians, while the more southerly, called "Eastern Roumelia," was to be autonomous under a Christian prince appointed by the Sultan. Austria was empowered to occupy and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina in the interest of the peace of Europe. Russia was quite willing to agree, as she got Bessarabia and, by agreement with England, Kars and Batoum in Turkish Armenia. The Sultan was recommended to cede Thessaly and Southern Epirus to Greece, but only complied in 1881. Before the Conference the Sultan had also been persuaded to allow England to occupy Cyprus so long as Russia occupied Kars and Batoum, and England, in turn, guaranteed the integrity of the Sultan's remaining Asiatic lands.

Few statesmen now defend England's policy either in 1854 or 1878. We could not guarantee the Turkish Empire as we could not force the Sultan to introduce reforms. Abdul Hamid II preferred to go his own way. In the crisis of 1876 he had even given Turkey a Parliament, but that was soon suspended, and until 1908 he ruled by a system of spies and terrorism, of which the unfortunate victims were generally the Greeks and Armenians who still remained under his sway.

Macedonia's fate was that of Bulgaria in 1876, made worse by the intrigues of Bulgars, Serbians, and Greeks. The Sultan continued to play off the Great Powers against each other, and though outwardly well-intentioned was driven by his very position to pursue devious courses. He made no resistance when the Bulgarians and the people of Eastern Roumelia joined to form one state in 1885, and saw with delight the resulting quarrel between Bulgaria and Serbia and between the liberators, Russia and Austria, for influence in the Balkans.

Great Britain gradually ceased to support Turkey even nominally, having other troubles in Ireland and Africa, and when Bismarck was dismissed by the Emperor William II in 1890 Abdul Hamid found in the latter a new champion. Disregarding Bismarck's maxim of peaceful development and friendship with Russia, German policy now became so openly aggressive that by 1896 Russia and France formed the Dual Alliance. During the reign of Victoria England's policy of "splendid isolation" continued, but it received a rude shock from the Kaiser's telegram to President Krüger after the Jameson Raid, and the benevolent neutrality of the United Kingdom towards the Triple Alliance came to an end when Germany began to challenge Britain's naval supremacy.

Meanwhile China had succeeded Turkey in the position of victim of European ambitions. The decrepit empire was defeated by Japan in 1894, but Germany, Russia, and France deprived the latter of most of the spoil in the name of the Balance of Power in the Far East. However, in 1898 Germany forced China to cede the harbour of Kiau-chau and practically the province of Shantung on a ninety-nine years' lease as reparation for the murder of two missionaries; and Russia, having absorbed most of Manchuria by the aid of the Trans-Siberian Railway, obtained in 1898 a twenty-five years' lease of Port Arthur. Jealousy of Russia and Germany led England to obtain a lease of Wei-hai-wei, midway between the strongholds of her rivals. When the Boer War broke out in 1899 she was without a friend in Europe, and only the mutual suspicions of Russia and Germany prevented collective European intervention on behalf of the Boers.

However, England and Japan had a common interest in preventing the partition of China after the suppression of the anti-European Boxer Rising in China by a joint European force in 1901, and in 1902 they formed a defensive alliance,

which gave Japan a guarantee against a repetition of her former humiliation, and England a guarantee against Russian or other attack on India. Edward VII took a keen interest in foreign politics, and the Japanese treaty was only a prelude to an agreement with France, due largely to his influence, which settled all outstanding disputes and gave Newfoundland and Egypt wholly to England in return for an acknowledgment of French claims in Morocco. The treaty came only just in time, for the Russian bureaucracy were encouraged by Germany to despise Japanese protests against their continued presence in Manchuria, which menaced Japanese interests. War resulted in the victory of the Japanese, who wrested Port Arthur and the southern half of Manchuria and Sakhalin from the Russians, together with the control of Corea. England and France agreed to remain neutral, despite the strained relations between England and Russia.

The Anglo-French agreement had not pleased the Germans, and, when the Russian failure in Manchuria seemed certain, the Kaiser visited Tangiers in Morocco. He made a speech here which challenged the rights of France in Morocco, and thereby the stability of the Anglo-French agreement. The French were forced to dismiss their brilliant Foreign Minister Delcassé in order to avoid the war for which they were not prepared, but when England showed her intention of supporting France at all costs, the Kaiser agreed to the holding of a conference at Algeçiras to settle the question. Italy deserted her ally, and the Russians, who had just made peace with the Japanese, stood by France. The result was that the Kaiser acknowledged French interests in Morocco in return for a slice of the French Congo territory. His partial success was dearly bought, for the humiliation kindled a new military spirit in France, which soon led to a great national revival. Moreover, so far from weakening the *entente cordiale* between England and France, the action of Germany only drew them closer together, since the English statesmen of all parties became more and more uneasy at the rapid growth of the German fleet. The Russian defeat in the war of 1904 led to revolution and the grant of a constitution in Russia. The bureaucracy still retained great power, but proved so reasonable in foreign politics that, thanks to French influence, it was found possible to conclude an Anglo-Russian agreement in 1907 similar to the earlier one made with France.

The accession of a Liberal Ministry to power in England in 1906 led finally to a definite offer from London to Berlin to agree to a mutual cessation of excessive naval expenditure, but events were happening elsewhere that encouraged the Germans to abandon any desire for final peace with the United Kingdom except on their own terms. Abdul Hamid II had been successful so long as he could play off the Great Powers against each other, but the abominable deeds perpetrated in Crete, Armenia, and Macedonia had at last shamed the European Governments into something like united action. In alarm, the Sultan accepted the proffered friendship of the German Emperor, and began to employ German instructors to drill and reorganize the Turkish army. To some extent they were successful, but new ideas began to be popular among the Turkish officials in political as well as military matters; and as their pay was considerably in arrear, and as none of them felt safe from the tyrant's vengeance, the "Young Turks," styling themselves reformers, won over the army at Salonica in 1908, and soon forced the Sultan to revive the Constitution of 1876. The revolution was brought about by the "Committee of Union and Progress," some of whose members were not Moslems, and many of whom had fled abroad to escape the Sultan's tyranny. At first they were enthusiastically joined by all the various races of the empire, but the Moslem reformers showed a desire to accentuate Ottoman supremacy which alarmed not only their Christian fellow-subjects, but also the other Balkan rulers, including the Emperor of Austria.

A few months after the revolution the Austrian Emperor announced that he had decided to incorporate Bosnia and Herzegovina in his empire, although they were still nominally Turkish provinces. Two days later, on the 5th of October, Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria declared Turkish suzerainty over that state at an end, and assumed the title of Czar, or independent king. At once Crete followed with a declaration of union with Greece. Serbia saw in the action of Austria the death-knell of her hopes to unite the scattered Serbian peoples as Piedmont had united the Italians, and protested vigorously. However, Austria was backed by Germany, and Russia, feeling herself unable at that moment to fight on behalf of her Slav sister-state, counselled submission. Serbia could look for no mercy from Austria, for a recent revolution had deposed the incompetent and tyrannical King Alexander Obrenovitch,

who had made Serbia the tool of Austria, in favour of Peter Karageorgevitch, who looked to Russia for help and had at least the virtue of acting as a constitutional sovereign who sympathized with national aspirations.

Abdul Hamid attempted to take advantage of the anger roused in Turkey by these annexations to engineer fresh massacres and abolish the constitution (April 1909). However, the Young Turks retained the allegiance of the greater part of the army, and on recapturing Constantinople they deposed the Sultan in favour of his brother Mohammed V, who, having been imprisoned for many years by Abdul Hamid, was quite willing to reign as a constitutional sovereign. Unfortunately the Young Turks soon disgusted the Christian population by their policy of abolishing special privileges and by their undisguised tyranny, which recalled the worst times of Abdul Hamid. They also revived the latter's policy of a German alliance.

In 1911 the Kaiser, despite the Algeçiras agreement, sent the German gunboat *Panther* to the South Moroccan port of Agadir, under pretext of supporting the rights of certain German merchants. This time the French determined to resist, and the British Government boldly took its stand by the side of France, as the possession of Agadir by the Germans threatened British trade in time of war. The Kaiser recalled his warship, but the result of the adventure was that, although no formal alliance was made between England and France, joint action against German aggression was made more certain. However, the European nations all continued to profess their devotion to peace.

The value of their professions was to be severely tested by the Balkan War of 1912. Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria were for a time persuaded to lay aside their mutual jealousies and join in a league to expel the Turks from Europe. The condition of Macedonia afforded a fair pretext, and as the Turks had just lost Tripoli and some of the Levant Islands to the Italians after an unsuccessful war, they were really in no condition to resist. However, the sweeping victory of the Allies caused them to quarrel over the spoil before the Bulgarians could take the Chatalja Lines which German engineers had designed for the landward defence of Constantinople. Austria had seen the victorious march of the Serbians with dismay, especially as their Montenegrin brethren were threatening

Albania. To prevent Serbia from procuring the coveted Adriatic seaport Austria persuaded Italy to support a movement for an autonomous Albanian state, while at the same time she egged on Bulgaria to make a treacherous attack on her allies Greece and Serbia.

Bulgaria failed, and her treachery cost her dearly, for Enver Pasha, the Young Turk leader, attacked the Bulgarians and regained Adrianople, while the Roumanians demanded, and later obtained, the cession of a slice of North-Eastern Bulgaria. Serbia, however, was once more the victim of Austrian jealousy. Probably the action of Austria was supported by Germany from a desire to test the solidarity of the "Triple Entente" of England, France, and Russia in its weakest link. England had always opposed Russia in the Balkans, and the Serbian Revolution which gave King Peter his crown had been reprobated in England for its murderous character. The English Foreign Minister, Sir Edward Grey, worked hard for peace; but the Triple Alliance was immovable, and Russia was not yet in a position to take up the challenge. Serbia had to yield to the situation, but apart from her own wrongs, the treatment meted out to the Serbians within the Dual Monarchy was so oppressive that they were driven to use violent methods in return. The Roumanian population of Transylvania looked for help to their free Roumanian kinsmen, but so long as King Carol lived his German nationality prevented any effective help being given.

Russia had not accepted the rebuff meekly, and feverishly hastened the reorganization of her army and the rebuilding of her navy. However, everything seemed to favour the continued supremacy of the Triple Alliance. Great Britain had certainly taken warning somewhat by the Agadir incident, but her army was small, and trouble over the Home Rule Bill and the Women's Suffrage question made her apparently helpless. Only the reluctance of Italy prevented an attack on Serbia by Austria in 1913; but by 1914 the Kiel Canal had been deepened to admit the passage of Dreadnoughts from the North Sea to the Baltic, and probably Great Britain's real strength, especially in the loyalty of India and the self-governing colonies, was underestimated by the Germans. Suddenly the mad act of two Serbians of doubtful nationality resulted in the murder of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the Austrian Crown Prince, and his wife, on the 25th of June, at Sarajevo, the capital of

Bosnia. The culpable carelessness of the Austrian authorities was largely responsible for the death of the Archduke, but the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office, after a perfunctory investigation, used the murder as a pretext to address to the Serbian Government an ultimatum, of which the acceptance meant the virtual extinction of Serbia's independence.

England and Russia vainly tried to induce Austria to moderate her demands, but not until it was too late did Austria realize that this time Russia would not give way. Her government had been undoubtedly misled by Germany and her own ambassador at St. Petersburg as to Russia's real intentions. The Berlin Government forced the issue by sending ultimatums to St. Petersburg and Paris which were bound to be rejected. The plan of campaign was for Austria and a small German force to hold up the Russians until the main German army, neglecting as too difficult the French eastern frontier, had made a sudden dash on Paris by way of Belgium and Luxemburg in defiance of the neutrality of those countries. It was probably expected that in the face of the triumphant march of the Germans on Paris Great Britain would content herself with a perfunctory protest at the violation of Belgian neutrality, and allow the German army to march against the Russians when the French were crushed. However, instead, the Belgians resisted vigorously, and appealed to Great Britain. When the Germans refused to abandon their plan despite an ultimatum from London, Great Britain declared war and not only effectually blockaded the German coast by sealing up the outlets from the North Sea, but also flung an ever-increasing Expeditionary Force into France composed of Indians and Colonials as well as regular British troops.

German plans everywhere miscarried. After an apparently victorious march to within a few miles of Paris they were brilliantly outmanœuvred at the battle of the Marne and driven to fortify a position extending from Nieuport, on the Belgian coast, almost to the borders of Switzerland along the French frontier. Austria was heavily defeated both by Russia and Serbia, and the Germans had to call up all their reserves and to detach troops from the western army to defend East Prussia and Silesia. By the end of 1914 the struggle had been turned into a war of attrition in which the ever-increasing armies of Russia and Great Britain were bound to tell in the long run The German policy of terrorizing Belgium cost her

the sympathy of the civilized world, and only stimulated the gallant Belgian king and his army to yet more heroic resistance, while the Austrian failure against Serbia tempted Roumania, on King Carol's death, and Italy to form plans for freeing those of their nation who still remained beneath the Austrian yoke. The Russian Grand Duke Nicholas, by promising the restoration of the Polish kingdom, conciliated alike the Poles and foreign nations, and undoubtedly shook the loyalty of the Polish subjects of the enemy.

England's participation in the war was enthusiastically supported both at home and in the colonies. Her soldiers proved themselves individually superior to the German conscripts in every arm of warfare, including military aeroplanes, which were now for the first time used in warfare on a large scale, and new armies were rapidly raised. Fortunately the whole fleet had been mobilized for a review just before the outbreak of war, and at once took up its appointed task of preventing the arrival of supplies in Germany, and of protecting the crossing of the Expeditionary Force. So overwhelmingly powerful was it that there was little actual fighting at sea in the first six months of the war. German efforts at sea were confined to commerce raiding, in which they lost on the exchange. Only in one instance was a British squadron defeated. A Japanese force, helped by the British, drove the German Far-Eastern fleet from Tsing-tao, the fortress of Kiau-chau, and finally captured that place. However, the Germans concentrated most of their scattered commerce raiders off the coast of Chili and defeated an inferior British squadron under Admiral Cradock, sinking the *Monmouth* and *Good Hope*. When they pursued the remaining British ships to the Falkland Islands, the Germans were in turn met by an overpowering British fleet, and only one warship escaped.

However, by the spring of 1915 the German flag had practically disappeared from the ocean, and even in the North Sea neither the German navy nor the German airships justified the hopes they had raised. On two occasions a few fast German battle-cruisers made a hasty raid by night across the North Sea and without warning bombarded unfortified towns on the east coast, but a third attempt in January 1915 ended disastrously for the raiders, who were surprised by a British squadron and forced to retreat, with the total loss of one cruiser and severe damage to the rest.

The war at sea, like the war on land, settled down to a condition resembling a gigantic state of siege, for, in consequence of the disregard for the laws of war shown by the German submarines and aircraft, the British Government ordered its navy to cut off all communication between the ports of the enemy and the outside world. Meanwhile German intrigues had won over Turkey, and in consequence of a serio-comic raid on the Suez Canal by a Turkish army the Allied fleets began the difficult task of forcing the Dardanelles, while a British expedition from India attacked the Turks in the region north of the Persian Gulf.

On the eastern frontier Germany barely held her own against Russia, although the latter was using the major portion of her forces to deal sledge-hammer blows against Austria, and by the spring of 1915 only the fortress of Cracow remained between Russia and the German province of Silesia.

CHAPTER IV

COLONIAL POLICY

Although England's foreign policy during the reign of Victoria was neither successful nor glorious, yet outside Europe her colonial policy was ultimately a success in spite of grievous blunders. In Canada, in Australasia, and finally in South Africa, disconnected and generally discontented groups of settlements became organized into prosperous and contented federations of self-governing states. Even in India, after the Mutiny had caused the authority of the East India Company to be transferred to the Crown, the natives came to recognize the good intentions of the British Raj even if its actions were not always intelligible. In lands where the white population was large, self-government was frankly conceded throughout the empire. In the case of India and the Crown Colonies the government remained more or less autocratic, but in no case was authority exercised solely for the advantage of the United Kingdom.

British North America. — When Queen Victoria ascended the throne it seemed highly probable that before long the British flag would have to be withdrawn more or less volun-

tarily from North America, for there was serious discontent in all the colonies. After the treaty of 1783 the United States had made with Great Britain a mutually profitable treaty of commerce, but the British Government failed to obtain compensation for its American supporters — the United Empire Loyalists—and at great expense endeavoured to find them fresh homes in the Maritime Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and in Western or Upper Canada—the modern Ontario. In Lower Canada or Quebec the 60,000 French settlers who remained after 1763 formed the bulk of the population, but British settlers predominated in the Eastern Townships south of the St. Lawrence and in the islands of Prince Edward and Newfoundland.

The common difficulty of the colonies was that of all newly settled lands—want of population and capital; but in Canada proper there was the added problem of an alien population with laws, customs, and religion differing from those of the British settlers. Britain had secured the loyalty of the French Canadians during the War of Independence by guaranteeing their Civil Law and their religious liberty; but in 1791 Pitt passed an Act which extended to Canada representative institutions but not responsible government. Canada was divided into an Upper and Lower province, roughly into English and French Canada. Besides the elected Assembly, the two Canadas, like the other North-American colonies, possessed a nominated Legislative Council and a nominated Executive Council, and as the latter council controlled the Legislative Council the Executive could act untrammelled by the Assembly.

Population in Upper Canada was small at first, and mainly Anglican in religion. The chief officials were frequently related to each other either by blood or marriage, and when in the early nineteenth century fresh settlers poured in from the United States and England the older settlers and their leaders, nicknamed "The Family Compact," resented the democratic tendencies of the new-comers, who in their turn, being often non-Anglican in religion, objected to the lands known as the "Clergy Reserves" being kept solely for the benefit of the Anglican ministers. American raids during the war of 1812 had only maintained the patriotism of the United Empire Loyalists at fever heat, and gradually, as some of the American settlers openly expressed a preference for republican

institutions, they caused the more moderate Methodist opposition to lose sympathy with them, although the Methodists still chafed at the monopoly of power by the Anglicans. Unfortunately communication with London was rare and uncertain, and the various Royal Commissions appointed to investigate alleged grievances were not very helpful. Intentional oppression there was none so far as the Mother Country was concerned; but in practice the "Mother Country" was a government clerk in a room at the Colonial Office, and he was at the mercy of the interested officials of Upper Canada. Moreover, besides the quarrel between "The Family Compact" and its rivals, there were also economic problems. There was no money forthcoming to develop the land by making roads and effectively canalizing the St. Lawrence, while the Assembly of Lower Canada was accused of wilful neglect of the interests of its neighbours both in the canalization of the St. Lawrence and in withholding a fair share of the customs dues collected in Lower Canada for both colonies.

The problem in Lower Canada was even more complicated, for the British minority could not obtain fair play from the majority in the local Assembly, while the latter, led by Papineau, persistently refused to work with the local Executive unless they were granted an elective Legislative Council and the power to punish all officials who displeased them. Normally, the *habitant* or French-Canadian peasant was a hard-working, peaceful man, but he was inflamed by ambitious lawyers and notaries against the Government, and Papineau aspired to play the part of a Canadian O'Connell. Unfortunately for himself, he alienated the Church and some of his former British allies against the Executive by his republican propaganda. He and William Lyon Mackenzie, leader of the Extremists in Upper Canada, dreamed of joint action, but, as events proved, rebellion had no chance of success, for the general commanding the British troops in Canada was Wellington's old subordinate, Lord Colborne. He had been Governor of Upper Canada, and had no sympathy with popular movements. He was satisfied, however, to repress sedition, and left the task of settling the future to the British Government.

Soon after Queen Victoria ascended the throne some of Papineau's followers in Lower Canada took up arms, but Colborne easily stamped out the rising. Unfortunately the

cruel murder of one of their prisoners by the insurgents led the troops to exact heavy retribution when the rising was being crushed. Papineau was no soldier, and fled to the States, leaving his deluded followers to the mercy of their victorious opponents. The rising in Upper Canada had even less chance of success, for the colonists themselves, headed by the Scottish settlers under Sir Allan Macnab, defeated Mackenzie and his friends. Many of the rebel leaders were hanged by the new Governor, Sir George Arthur, and Mackenzie himself served a term of imprisonment in the United States, when he attempted to renew the attack. The only satisfactory result of the rebellion was that it stirred up the English Government to send Lord Durham to Canada as High Commissioner. For private reasons the ministers were glad to get rid of Durham, and laid down no clear limitations to his power. Durham was a statesman, and realizing that the "rebels" certainly had not risen without real grievances, spared their lives and banished them to the Bermudas.

Most people in Canada were satisfied, and Durham would probably have been able to carry out his undoubted intention of federating all the colonies under a system of self-government had not his enemies at home accused him of exceeding his powers. Melbourne's weak ministry dared not support their brilliant colleague, and their action not only led to Durham's indignant resignation, but also encouraged the forces of disorder in Canada. Durham returned home and died a few years later a disappointed man, but in his classical "Report on . . . British North America" he laid the foundations of the new British Empire. Durham was a Radical at home, and perhaps judged the Canadian Tories too hardly, but one cannot rebut his condemnation of the rule of the oligarchies in the various colonies, which, as he pointed out, benefited neither the colonists nor the mother country. He also put his finger on the real trouble in Lower Canada—"the two nations warring in the bosom of a single state"—and although he praises very highly the many good qualities of the *habitants*, he insists that they could not be allowed to remain "an old and stationary society in a new and progressive world." Durham may not really have understood all the details of the Canadian problem, and undoubtedly he owed a great deal of the Report to the help of his brilliant secretaries, Charles Buller and Edward Gibbon Wakefield, but his recommenda-

tions possessed the simplicity of genius. He would have preferred to form a federation of all the colonies, including Newfoundland, but as that was impossible he proposed to unite Upper and Lower Canada into one state, and to make the Executive ministers responsible to the Canadian Parliament. Under such a system there would be no necessity to disfranchise the French, while subsequent immigration would remove any doubt as to the British character of Canada.

To secure the assent of the Canadians to Durham's scheme the diplomatic Poulett Thomson was sent over. The United Empire Loyalists were now in control of the Legislature of Upper Canada, and only an appeal to their patriotism persuaded them to risk the new scheme, but in Lower Canada, where the Assembly was suspended, only the Legislative Council was asked. When the Act uniting the Canadas was finally passed in July 1840 by the British Parliament, it did not formally make the Executive subordinate to the Legislature. Not till February 1841 did Russell's famous dispatch appear which informed the Governor-General that he must only oppose the wishes of the Assembly "when the honour of the Crown or the interests of the Empire are deeply concerned." As the new system pleased neither of the extreme parties, it could hope to gain favour with the rapidly increasing party of Moderates who were now content to remain under the British flag. Before long, thanks largely to the efforts of Joseph Howe of Nova Scotia, who had been a supporter of Lord Durham, the principles of colonial self-goverment on the lines of the Russell dispatch had been extended to all the Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland, although in some cases obstacles had to be overcome.

Free to settle their troubles in their own way, the colonists evolved a constitutional system of a double premiership under which the French ceased to suffer any real grievance, although, thanks largely to increased immigration, they were soon largely outnumbered. The adoption of Free Trade by the United Kingdom led the Canadians to form a Reciprocity Treaty with the United States in 1854, and they were even allowed, after a struggle, to impose protective duties on British imports in 1858, despite the protests of the Sheffield manufacturers. However, neither United Canada nor the Maritime Provinces were satisfied with existing arrangements. It was plainly to the advantage of the latter to unite, at least among themselves,

and in 1864 a conference, representing the Legislatures of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island met at Charlottetown, the capital of the last-named province, to discuss schemes for a union. As they also desired the construction of the Inter-Colonial Railway, foreshadowed in Lord Durham's Report, to connect them with United Canada, they were glad when, owing to its own special difficulties, United Canada asked to be allowed to take part in the conference.

The Canadians in all the provinces had seen with ill-disguised alarm the appearance of huge armies across the border during the American Civil War. They had largely sympathized with the defeated Confederate States, and were moreover unpopular in the manufacturing districts, because they preferred the loss of the Elgin-Marcy Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 to its extension to cover free trade in manufactures. Among the American troops were numbers of Irishmen who formed plans of armed attacks both on Canada and the United Kingdom. This Fenian movement, as it was called, was in the end no more successful against Canada than elsewhere, but until the English Government agreed to arbitrate on the *Alabama* dispute war between England and America was by no means unlikely. The Maritime Provinces had grievances against the Americans over fishery questions, and New Brunswick in particular had suffered from the Ashburton Treaty of 1842 by which the British Government surrendered a large share of an important disputed frontier district to the Americans.

By 1864 the constitutional system of United Canada seemed to have arrived at a deadlock. It was impossible for any party to obtain a working majority for, as in England, party lines as between Liberals and Conservatives had worn very thin, and most important problems had been solved for the time being. However, there was one problem which threatened to tax Canadian statesmanship severely. In 1840 French Lower Canada had been compelled to concede equality in parliamentary representatives to Upper Canada, despite the latter's more scanty population; but by 1855 immigration had given Upper Canada, or Canada West, as it was called, an overwhelming superiority in population. Now it was the turn of the French to oppose schemes to provide "representation according to population." By 1864 both Liberals and Conservatives agreed that the only solution was for the province to be re-divided. The French were willing to accept federa-

tion if they might retain control of their home affairs in Quebec or Canada East. The Charlottetown Conference already referred to was followed by the more important Quebec Conference of October 10, 1864. On the 28th of October seventy-two resolutions had been agreed upon after much debate, and on the 31st of October the final meeting was held at Montreal and the scheme was published. In Canada, feeling was all but unanimous in its favour, and it was accepted after a little hesitation in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. However, Prince Edward Island did not come into the confederation until 1874, and Newfoundland still remains independent.

In 1867 the Imperial Parliament legalized the scheme of confederation by the British North America Act passed after it had been amended by a conference of Colonial delegates in London. The Act created the Dominion of Canada with a House of Commons and a nominated Senate. Contrary to the American principle the Dominion Government retained all the rights it did not specifically bestow on the provinces, as they were now termed, and Canada entered upon a new and prosperous career, despite occasional temporary set-backs. In 1869 the Hudson Bay Company's territories, known as the "North-West," were handed over to Canada in return for a sum of money, and out of them fresh provinces were eventually formed: Manitoba, in 1870, despite attempted resistance by the French half-breeds under Riel, and Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905. The Pacific coast Province of British Columbia, largely the offspring of the gold discoveries of 1857–1858, had entered the Dominion in 1871, but the Canadian Pacific Railway, the price of her adhesion, was not finally completed till 1885. The part played by the Dominion of Canada in re-shaping Britain's conceptions of her Colonial Empire will be best dealt with later.

India. — Lord Minto (1807–1813) and Lord Hastings (1813–1823) carried on Mornington's plan of making the British Government predominant in India, and when Hastings left in 1823 it had no serious rival. Hastings had destroyed the Pindarees or bands of roving freebooters, and after a fresh Mahratta War had annexed Poonah and suppressed the *Peishwa*, its ruler. There were now practically only three independent states in India or on its borders—Burmah, the Punjab, and Afghanistan. Burmah proved an ill neighbour to Bengal, and by 1826 it had to make peace by paying an

indemnity and ceding territory. Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Punjab—the land of the "Five Rivers" of North-West India—was known as the "Lion of Lahore," and though a ruthless and unscrupulous ruler, wisely remained friends with the British till his death. Afghanistan was a far more unpleasant neighbour, and not only were its fierce and warlike tribes protected by the rugged nature of their land, but they were suspected of lending a ready ear to Russian intrigues, although the Persian attack on their stronghold Herat in 1837 was undoubtedly caused by Russia.

The difficulty we had to face was that a constant struggle went on for the throne of Afghanistan, and the Governor-General of India often felt compelled to support one claimant against the other to checkmate supposed Russian intrigues, which were in turn the result of our own attitude on the Near-Eastern Question. In 1839 Lord Auckland determined to depose the "usurper" Dost Mohammed on account of his suspected intrigues with Russia, and for two years the Afghans submitted to the presence of the British Resident at Cabul, who with a small army supported the new ruler Shah Shoojah. Dost Mohammed was a prisoner of the English, but his son, Akbar Khan, at the end of 1841 suddenly besieged the British camp, and after treacherously shooting the Resident at a conference, persuaded the incompetent General Elphinstone to retreat to India under a safe-conduct. Probably Akbar Khan did his best, but his wild followers would not be restrained as the mixed British host, soldiers, ladies, and children, struggled back over the snow-clad passes, and only the fidelity of Akbar saved the ladies and children, who had to be entrusted to his care. Of the men, out of 14,500 only one, Dr. Brydon, reached the first British garrison at Jellalabad. Soon a fresh British army fought its way to Cabul, but its leader, although he rescued Akbar's captives, had to replace Dost Mohammed on the throne.

The next Indian Governor-General, Ellenborough, annexed Sindh, the district about the Lower Indus, thanks to Sir Charles Napier's victory at Meanee in 1842, but its rulers probably did not deserve the accusation of treachery levelled against them, although good government soon reconciled the natives to the new conditions. Much more justifiable was English interference in the Punjab by Ellenborough's successor Hardinge in 1845. Since the death of Ranjit Singh

in 1839 there had been constant disputes as to the succession, and the powerful Sikh army at last invaded British territory at the end of 1845. The Sikhs were originally a Hindoo religious sect whom persecution by the Moguls had turned into a fanatical soldiery, and were the stoutest opponents the English had found in India so far. Successive defeats at Ferozeshah, Moodkee, and Aliwal did not dishearten them, and not till Gough, with superior artillery, had captured their entrenched camp at Sobraon on the Sutlej (February 8, 1846) did the Sikhs purchase peace by the surrender of part of their territory. Three years later the Sikh military leaders renewed the war. In January 1849 Gough fought a drawn battle with the Sikh army at Chillianwalla, but the stubborn Irishman atoned for the check a few weeks later by destroying the Sikh army at Gujerat after a terrific bombardment from his artillery. The Punjab was now annexed, but the brothers Lawrence by their strong though sympathetic rule soon made the Sikhs and their former subjects most loyal supporters of the British power.

Unfortunately Lord Dalhousie, who governed India from 1848 to 1856, although desiring India's well-being, lacked the sympathetic understanding of Henry and John Lawrence. Believing it to be for the good of the natives to come under direct British control, he annexed not only the Punjab but also various other places, including Lower Burmah, and finally, Oudh. Dalhousie in one instance refused to recognize the rights of a rajah's adopted son and so offended Hindu religious feeling, for the adoption had taken place to secure the performance of certain necessary sacrifices after the Rajah's death. More excusable but equally disastrous was Dalhousie's support of a policy which, though designed to help the peasants by abolishing the middlemen who oppressed them, offended an important and powerful class of natives in Oudh and the north-west provinces, who felt themselves unjustly treated. The natives were led to believe by the disaffected that there was a definite plan to make them become Christians by a steady interference with their religious customs. Dalhousie's predecessor, Bentinck, had certainly abolished the practice of "suttee"—the compulsory suicide of the widow on her husband's death—but both he and Dalhousie had encouraged the education of the natives and the introduction of improved methods of transport and administration.

Even the educated natives were restive under this sudden transformation of their usually stagnant world, and the disaffected Hindus, knowing that some of the sepoys or native soldiers were restless owing to the abolition of certain exemptions, including freedom from liability to serve oversea, hoped to create a mutiny. They remembered an old prophecy that English rule should only endure one hundred years from the Battle of Plassey, that is, until 1857. How far definite plans for a universal rising were formed is doubtful, but special cakes were carried from village to village—probably by wandering fakirs and devotees—of which the meaning was that some great event was about to happen. Quite unexpectedly and innocently the British Government itself fired the train of the explosion; it substituted the Enfield rifle for the old "Brown Bess," and the cartridges for the new rifle, which the soldiers had then to bite with their teeth, were greased with a mysterious mixture. It is possible that by mistake the mixture was at first composed of cows' fat and pigs' lard, but these cartridges were at once recalled. However, the conspirators had seized their opportunity. Mohammedan soldiers would be defiled by touching anything that came from swine, while the Hindu soldiers, who were often high-caste Brahmins, held the cow sacred. Both Mohammedan and Hindu, having lost all hope of salvation through their own faith if they used the greased cartridges, would be forced in despair to turn Christian.

The disaffection first showed itself near Calcutta, but a few weeks later the native soldiers at Meerut, near Delhi, mutinied and killed their white officers. They took to flight, but by an unfortunate mischance they found the old King of Delhi, who was an English pensioner, and proclaiming him Emperor of Hindustan they summoned both Hindus and Mohammedans to assist them. Actually the mutiny was for the most part confined to the Ganges valley, but the population of that district was little short of a hundred millions, and there were not forty thousand British troops in India. The problem before Lord Canning, the new governor-general, was to rescue the English who still held out in Cawnpore and Lucknow.

However, before rescue could come a ghastly tragedy took place at Cawnpore. Here about five hundred British women and children had to be defended by barely as many British

men against an overwhelming number of mutineers headed by "Nana Sahib," as the English called him. Nana had always passed for a friend of the British Government, but he had been refused his claim to a pension as the adopted son of the last of the Peishwas, and now took a terrible revenge. He could not storm the improvised defences, but when the garrison were at the end of their resources he offered the survivors a safe-conduct to the nearest British post down the river. Relying on his past friendship the garrison accepted the offer, but as they proceeded to the boats most of them were shot down by the mutineers, and the women and children who were spared then were in a few days massacred and their bodies thrown down a well. Only four men escaped, but their story caused a bitter revenge to be taken later on.

The fate of the defenders of the Lucknow Residency was happier in the end, but only after great sufferings. Sir Henry Lawrence, the brave commander, was slain, but when the garrison was hard pressed General Havelock, under whom his nominal superior, Outram, was noble enough to serve when he finally joined him, managed to throw in reinforcements which saved Lucknow although he had failed to save Cawnpore, despite wonderful exertions. Although Outram, who now took command, could not drive off the mutineers, he kept them at bay while the rising was being put down elsewhere. The term Indian Mutiny is not strictly accurate, for not only were there no risings outside the Bengal Presidency, but loyal natives everywhere helped the British, even in the defence of Lucknow. Sir John Lawrence in the Punjab was enthusiastically supported by the Sikhs, who helped him to disarm the sepoy regiments there, and even made it possible for him to send a strong body of men to join in the siege of Delhi.

Meanwhile, Lord Canning had gathered together a strong British force and had fortunately been able to utilize several regiments which had been sent out to take part in the Chinese War. Other troops began to arrive from Europe. Most of the native princes held aloof from the rebels, and some of them, especially the ruler of Patiala, in the Punjab, actually helped in the siege of Delhi. By the 14th of September, thanks to the heroism of Nicholson, which was seconded by the desperate bravery of his troops, British and Indian, Delhi was stormed, although at the cost of Nicholson's own life. Sir Colin Campbell, who had been sent out from

England, finally relieved Lucknow in November and withdrew the defenders. Slowly but surely the mutineers were hunted down and punished with a savagery that only massacres such as that of Cawnpore can explain.

When victory was secure the Governor-General won the honourable nickname of "Clemency Canning," from his efforts to prevent indiscriminate revenge. In 1858 Parliament passed an Act transferring India to the Crown and making a Secretary of State for India directly responsible to Parliament for the good government of that great dependency. In a noble proclamation the Queen laid down the principles under which India should in the future be governed. There was to be complete religious toleration and the chance for all qualified persons to obtain office under the State, while the princes were guaranteed a scrupulous respect for their rights and dignities. Perhaps the most important part of the proclamation in the eyes of the natives was that which promised that their rights and customs should be respected. Moreover, the promise was kept, and the progress of India has been the more sure if it has in consequence been at times somewhat slow. The proclamation was largely the Queen's own work, and her interest in India was maintained down to her death. At Disraeli's suggestion she made British rule in India more intelligible to the natives by assuming in 1877 the title of Empress of India. Her son and her grandson each visited India, and in 1911 George V formally proclaimed his own accession at the Delhi Durbar and restored Delhi to its old position as the capital of India.

Since the Mutiny the internal history of India has been peaceful, largely because the Government has tried to avoid wounding native susceptibilities. It has even been found possible to establish native municipalities in the greater cities, and more recently to admit native members not only to Provincial Councils, but also to the Viceregal Council. Universities and schools have been established everywhere, and both Hindus and Moslems are showing an ever-increasing tendency to qualify in them for a larger share in their own government. The authorities have wisely allowed great latitude of criticism in the native journals and public meetings, although at times they have invoked the aid of a drastic press law. It is true that since the Mutiny the proportion of British to native troops has been increased and the artillery made almost purely

a British arm, but despite this alteration and the maintenance of a rather irritating, if perhaps at one time necessary, Arms Act, recent events have shown that British rule in India does not rest purely on force, but rather upon the sympathy of the more enlightened Indian peoples.

For a time it seemed as though the old fear of Russian designs on India was to be justified. England had secured the south end of the Red Sea by the occupation of Aden in 1839, and in 1875 Disraeli's purchase of the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal secured the northern entrance. In 1878 Indian troops were actually sent to Malta to threaten Russia, and the sequel of course was fresh trouble in Afghanistan. The British fleet dominated the Persian Gulf, but fear of Russian intrigues led the British Government to depose the Ameer of Afghanistan and force his successor to receive a British Resident and a small garrison. The Resident, Sir Louis Cavagnari, was murdered, and later a British army under General Burrows was defeated at Maiwand. However, the historic march of Sir Frederick (later Earl) Roberts from Cabul to Kandahar settled the new English nominee, Abdur Rahman, on the throne at Cabul in 1880, and he and his successor, being left free to manage their country's internal affairs in their own way, have uniformly remained faithful, and in return for an annual subsidy keep up a strong force to ward off danger to India from the north-west. The Russians, after intrigues and annexations on the Pamirs which nearly led to war in 1885, accepted the situation, and in 1907 made an agreement with the United Kingdom surrendering aspirations in Afghanistan and agreeing that in Persia they would acknowledge a threefold division, under which that part which marches with the Indian Empire is to be outside the Russian sphere of influence. India's only trouble on the northern frontier now is the restlessness of the wild border tribes which from time to time necessitates punitive expeditions.

Not unconnected with India are the Burmese War, which finally resulted in the annexation of Upper Burmah in 1885, and the various Chinese wars, the cause of which can generally be traced to the export of opium from India to China. The Chinese under the old empire had no desire to trade with European nations, but opium was smuggled in by the help of minor officials. In 1840 a Chinese Commissioner attempted to enforce the prohibition of trade too drastically, and the result-

ing war with Great Britain led to the cession of the valuable island of Hong-Kong. In 1857 an insult to the British flag at Canton was characteristically avenged by Palmerston by the bombardment of Canton, and a British and French force captured Pekin and exacted from China a large indemnity and the admission of European ministers to that city. The Japanese profited by the lesson, and so drastically reformed their own country on Western lines that they were able to defeat China and seize Corea in 1894, and the resulting rivalry with Russia and Germany for predominance in China led to the Far-Eastern Question in which India is greatly interested. When in 1900 the Chinese dislike of foreign interference crystallized into the ultra-patriotic society of the "Boxers," the Legations of the Powers were besieged in Pekin. In the International force that finally fought its way through to their rescue Indian troops composed part of the British section.

Australasia.—The first British Colonial Empire received its death-blow by the Peace of Versailles in 1783, and so unimportant did the remaining colonies seem that it was not till 1854 that a separate Secretary of State to deal with colonial affairs was reappointed. However, just as no one foresaw the magnificent future of Wolfe's great conquest, so no one expected anything very great to come of Captain Cook's action in taking possession of "Botany Bay" in 1770. It was not taken advantage of in any way till 1787 when, as it was no longer possible to send convicts to America, a settlement was formed for them at Port Jackson, a little north of Botany Bay. For many years Sydney—now the capital of New South Wales—was almost purely a convict settlement, and most of the fresh towns that were founded were of the same character. It was long before free settlers were more than tolerated, and Queensland, Victoria, Tasmania, and Western Australia all originated from settlements similar to that of Port Jackson.

However, there were some Englishmen, such as Lord Durham's secretary, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who believed that the magnificent Australian continent was worthy of a nobler future than that of a convict settlement. Labour and land there were in plenty, and the problem was to attract capital, the third agency required for the successful production of wealth. Wakefield's scheme proposed to promote the immigration of a complete civilized society in all its necessary ranks. The rich were to buy the land they required for settle-

ment, and the money thus made available was to be used in developing the colony and aiding farm labourers and the poorer class generally to reach Australia, where by their exertions they might earn sufficient to purchase land in turn. The colony of South Australia was partially founded after Wakefield's ideas, and was for a long time the most solidly prosperous of all. Free settlers were, of course, found in ever increasing numbers in Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland, but for a long time they lived in uneasy contact with the emancipated convicts and their descendants. However, all the convicts were by no means guilty of moral turpitude, but were often the victims of the drastic and wrong-headed English criminal law before the labours of Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir Robert Peel had reformed it. At length the Victoria colonists protested against the sending of convicts to their land, and the practice was before long abandoned altogether.

In 1851 gold was discovered at Ballarat, and the fortunes made by lucky diggers two years earlier at the California gold-mines soon attracted a huge population to Victoria and the other places in Australia where gold deposits were discovered. On the eve of the gold discoveries, representative institutions had been introduced into New South Wales, which then included Victoria and Queensland, and in 1850 Victoria received a separate constitution. In 1855 responsible government on the Canadian model followed in these two colonies and South Australia, and by 1859 Queensland had been separated from New South Wales. Tasmania changed its name from Van Diemen's Land and reached the status of a self-governing colony in 1855, but it was not till 1890 that Western Australia received responsible government. However, each of the Australian colonies maintained a separate political and economic life, and, with the exception of New South Wales, adopted a system of Protection more or less rigorous. Population, roads, and railways were alike deficient, and the common origin of the inhabitants prevented troubles arising between them as in Canada and South Africa. The natives were a feeble and generally unwarlike race, and only in Tasmania did they seriously cause trouble.

The Imperial authorities had attempted to suggest a federation of the Australian colonies, at least for the purpose of settling a common tariff and for a few other matters of common interest, when representative institutions were first

bestowed, but the enabling clauses had to be withdrawn from the Bill, and nothing definite was done until 1885, when the Imperial Parliament passed an Act which allowed the separate colonies to federate in their own way and in their own time. Gradually the desire for federation grew, for there were difficulties under the existing system as to tariffs, military defence against possible invasion by Japan or Germany, measures against coloured immigration, legislation on social matters such as Old Age Pensions, and as to railways, rivers, and communications generally. A common feeling of patriotism grew up largely through the influence of Sir Harry Parkes, who insisted on "the crimson thread of kinship that runs through us all." Finally, after ten years of striving, the "Commonwealth of Australia" was created in 1900. The Federation, which was purely the work of Australians, is in character a compromise between that of the United States and that of Canada. The Governor-General acts through a ministry responsible to a Senate and House of Representatives, both elected, although, as in the United States, the Senate represents the States, six being chosen by each without regard to their population. The Constituent States retain more powers than the Canadian Provinces, but rather less than those in the American Union. Among the earliest measures of the new Commonwealth were the institution of a citizen army, and the creation of a local Australian navy which, when war broke out in 1914, was placed at the disposal of the Imperial Government and did good service.

The people of *New Zealand*, the group of islands lying 1200 miles east of Australia, felt that their interests lay outside the proposed Commonwealth. Their history and development had proceeded on different lines. Discovered by Captain Cook, they came under English influence in 1815, but were not formally annexed till 1839, just in time to forestall French plans. In the settlement of the islands the New Zealand Company, in which Wakefield was a leading spirit, took a prominent part. By the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840, the New Zealand chiefs ceded the sovereignty to Queen Victoria and thought that their lands were thereby safeguarded. However, difficulties resulting in bloody wars with the fierce Maoris, as they were called, occurred between them and the settlers, in which the natives were not always to blame.

The islands attracted a better type of immigrant by their

climate and fertile soil, and they developed largely on Wakefield's lines. The settlers soon received similar institutions to those of the other Australasian colonists, and by 1865 they had become an independent and self-governing colony. Experience gradually led to a better treatment of the natives, and the latter, although now a stationary race and far outnumbered by the whites, have equal rights with them. The New Zealanders are remarkable both for their advanced social and political institutions and for their strong patriotism. They sent a large contingent to the Boer War and the War of 1914, and presented a Dreadnought to the Imperial Navy. In 1907 the colony was formally recognized as the Dominion of New Zealand, and is a strong supporter of the closer union of the Empire. The Dominion Government has long desired to group the scattered British possessions in the South Pacific under itself, and during the first few weeks of the war of 1914 a New Zealand expedition obtained possession of the coveted German colony of Samoa.

Africa. — Until early in the nineteenth century British possessions in Africa were practically only trading stations on the west coast between the Gambia and the Niger, and were relics of the slave trade. However, the alliance with Napoleon cost the Dutch their South-African possessions at the Peace of Paris in 1814, although they received a monetary compensation. The Cape Colony, as it was called, had been settled since 1652 by a mixed population of Dutch and French Huguenots, who were a self-governing white aristocracy ruling a large subject population of Malay and native slaves and nominally free Hottentots.

Unfortunately, there was friction between the British Government and the Boers, or Dutch peasant-farmers, almost from the first. The latter resented both the appearance of British immigrants and the alteration in the system of local government. The Boers desired to use neither the official English language nor the strange new customs, which led the Government, at the instigation of missionaries, to restrict their power over the natives. When slavery was abolished in 1833 the Boers only received about one-third of the expected compensation, and part of that was lost because it was paid through London bankers who obtained a commission for forwarding the money. Some of the Boers were badly hit by the abolition of slavery, and there were various other grievances. In the

end the "Great Trek," or migration to the interior, occurred in 1836. About 10,000 Boers, conveying their families and possessions in lumbering ox-wagons, wandered away, some to Natal on the east coast, but the majority across the Orange River.

In 1843 the British Government proclaimed Natal a colony to the disgust of the Boers there, many of whom retired to join their friends in what came to be known as the Orange Free State, of which the capital was Bloemfontein. However, in 1848 the British formally annexed this district also, and once more the recalcitrants moved away. They crossed the Vaal River as some Boers had already done, and by the Sand River Convention of 1852 the British Government recognized the independence of the Transvaal, then supposed to be a barren and worthless land. Two years later, by the Convention of Bloemfontein the Orange Free State was abandoned to the Boers against the desire of many of them, and for many years the two republics were left unmolested although they did not live in complete harmony. The Boers of the more southerly state were peaceful and law abiding, and had at times to be protected by the British Government from the aggressions of their northern neighbours. Until 1899, however, they lived in peace with the British, and it was largely from a feeling of chivalry that they took part in the Boer War of that year.

Conditions were far otherwise in the Transvaal. Wars with the natives and wars of the settlers with each other made orderly development impossible, and the Transvaal Government, even after the constitutional settlement of 1864, came into conflict with the British on the question of Boer ill-treatment of the natives. In 1868 the Transvaalers had attempted to expand towards Delagoa Bay, and were boasting about the "Africander nation" and claiming the right to have a consul at Berlin. The situation was embittered by the evident intention of the Imperial authorities in London to exercise a decided, if indefinite suzerainty over both Boer States, for in 1871 Basutoland and the district around the Kimberley diamond fields were annexed to Cape Colony despite the protests of the Orange Free State, while the Transvaal lost in an arbitration as to Bechuanaland, and had to endure anarchy on their western frontier.

Responsible government had been thrust on Cape Colony in 1872, but the settlers generally feared that it meant the withdrawal of British troops, and so the risk of a renewal of

the wars with the natives, or Kaffirs, while the English of the eastern district feared that their interests might be sacrificed to those of Capetown. However, when the Cape Province had thus become self-governing, Lord Carnarvon, who had been responsible for the Canadian Act of Confederation in the Imperial Parliament, attempted to take advantage of a certain feeling, especially in the Orange Free State, in favour of unity in South Africa to promote confederation there. Unfortunately Froude the historian, whom Carnarvon sent out in 1874 and 1875 to preach confederation, was utterly unfit for his work, and not only openly opposed the Cape Ministry, but also inflamed racial jealousies by his frank admiration of the Boers, who appealed to him and his master, Thomas Carlyle, as an "Old-Testament people." Carnarvon did his best, and actually passed through the Imperial Parliament the South Africa Act of 1877 which allowed the provinces to form a confederation on the lines of the Dominion of Canada.

However, the whole scheme came to nought. By the arbitration of President Macmahon of France in 1872, neither the Transvaalers nor the British had obtained Delagoa Bay, which went to Portugal, although England secured rights of pre-emption which effectively shut in the Transvaal. The angry Boers soon had their hands more than full by wars with the natives. An expedition against the natives failed, while in Zululand Cetewayo, the "Black Napoleon," was planning a raid on the Transvaal. The Republic's treasury was empty and also in debt, and the well-meaning Carnarvon sent out Sir Theophilus Shepstone as an independent Commissioner, and soon afterwards appointed Sir Bartle Frere as Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner. Frere arrived on March 31, 1877, and on the 12th of April Shepstone, justly fearing that Cetewayo could not be otherwise restrained, formally annexed the Transvaal despite the protests of many Boers, although President Burgers held that the annexation was merely a preliminary to self-government under confederation. Indirectly the annexation was one of the prime causes of the Zulu War of 1879, for Cetewayo was angry at being baulked of his prey. The Zulus were a martial race, and it was only after an English force had been surprised and wiped out at Isandhlwana in January 1879 that Lord Chelmsford won his great victory at Ulundi in the following July. The capture of Cetewayo and the annexation of Zululand freed the Boers from their dreaded foes.

Unfortunately Lanyon, who succeeded Shepstone in the Transvaal, insisted that the Boers should pay taxes in return for protection from the natives, and the situation was complicated by the immigration of English settlers. Sir Bartle Frere did his best to forward confederation and to pacify the Boers by promises, but in 1879 he was superseded in the northern provinces by Sir Garnet Wolseley, who urged him to force on complete union of South Africa "to calm the sullen anger of these Dutchmen." Frere was not in the least responsible for the annexation, and in 1881 all his efforts to promote confederation were rendered useless, as Gladstone reversed Disraeli's Imperialist policy and yielded to the menacing demand of Krüger, who was the leader of the party among the Boers that opposed annexation. The Transvaal was restored to independence without any consultation of the Transvaalers as a whole, or any safeguarding of the rights of either the English settlers or the natives. Unfortunately Gladstone had not given way until the few British troops had been attacked by Boer "patriots," and the insignificant skirmish at Majuba Hill in February 1881, which resulted in the defeat of the British, embittered the future relations of the two races and gave the followers of "Oom Paul," as Krüger was called, an utterly disastrous idea of the real interest of the South-African Dutch. Gladstone was too great a man to yield to fear, although many of the Dutch interpreted his action as such, and in 1884 Krüger prevailed upon him to sign a fresh convention with the Transvaal, which now claimed to be the South African Republic. The new convention was the source of future trouble, for it did not contain the magic word "suzerainty" which had appeared in the 1881 convention.

Although Gladstone had omitted the word "suzerainty" he had not restored to the Boers the unqualified independence which they claimed, for the Imperial Government retained control over their foreign relations, and had also insisted that white men should have the same rights as Boers as to liberty of residence or trade and liability to taxation. Unfortunately no one foresaw that within a few years the patriarchal Boer agriculturalists would be deluged by a flood of immigrants from all parts of the world. In the very year of the last convention gold in rich quantities was discovered on the Rand—the hilly district of the Central Transvaal—and soon the city of Johannesburg, with a population of 100,000 "Uitlanders"—

Outlanders or immigrants—presented problems far beyond the power of the Boers to solve, especially when so many of the new-comers were British.

Disraeli's death in 1881 had not prevented his Imperialist doctrines from bearing fruit. The time had gone by when the Colonial Office could be suspected of forcing responsible government on the colonies with the idea of hastening the day when they, like the United States, might set up as independent nations. Disraeli had long retracted his desire to be rid of the "wretched colonies which hang like millstones round our necks," and not only did many English statesmen share his desire for some measure by which the relations of the colonies and the mother country might be drawn closer, but that desire was shared by others in the colonies. Sir John Macdonald, the founder of the Canadian National (Protection) Policy of Canada in the 'seventies, had proposed, though vainly, that the United Kingdom should return to Protection for the purpose of entering into commercial reciprocity with the colonies as against foreign nations. Disraeli could not listen to the proposal, and the Imperial Federation League of 1884 contained too many Liberals for such a policy to be bound up with the new Imperialism which began to spring up, especially after the Jubilee of 1887.

However, expansion in Africa was forced on the British Government largely against its will. Disraeli's purchase of the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal in 1875 led to intervention in the affairs of Egypt, at first jointly with France. The Khedive, after selling his canal shares, had repudiated the State debt, and in 1879 the Sultan of Turkey, his nominal overlord, was persuaded to depose him in favour of his son, Tewfik Pasha, while England and France each appointed a Controller, so that the State revenues might be reorganized. The Dual Control did not survive a national outbreak in 1881, led by Arabi Pasha and supported by the army, whose pay was getting in arrear. A riot at Alexandria, ending in the murder of Europeans, provoked even the peaceful Gladstone Ministry to order a bombardment. Fear of Bismarck's designs caused France to leave the suppression of the rising to British troops. By September 1882 Wolseley crushed the revolt at Tel-el-Kebir, and Arabi was exiled. However, fresh trouble arose from the appearance in 1881 of the "Mahdi," or self-styled Moslem Messiah, in the Soudan, the vast Egyptian frontier province

along the upper Nile. He and his fanatical followers—styled Dervishes—destroyed an Egyptian army led by Hicks Pasha, an Englishman, in 1883, and the Gladstone Ministry forced the Khedive to assent to a temporary abandonment of the province.

The task of withdrawing the garrison was entrusted to General Gordon, who was known as "Chinese Gordon," from his share in crushing the formidable Taiping Rebellion in China (1863–1864), and had been a popular ruler in the Soudan under Khedive Ismail. Gordon's instructions from the ministry were not definite, and he laid more stress upon the suggestion that he should try to organize a native government. He was too brave and chivalrous to leave this task unfinished, although the Dervishes gathered round him. The Gladstone Ministry did not realize his danger till too late. When at last a rescue expedition, in which Canadian boatmen took part, was sent up the Nile, unexpected obstacles delayed their advance, and the British steamers came within reach of Khartoum, where Gordon had been holding out, just after the city had been betrayed and the heroic governor murdered, January 1885.

Englishmen forgot that Gordon had disobeyed the first part of his instructions as to withdrawing the garrison, and many warmly accused the ministry of causing his betrayal and death. Although for various reasons Gordon's policy of "smashing the Mahdi" was not carried out for several years, it was not forgotten. Gradually a native Egyptian army was trained by British officers and taught to believe in itself by successful frontier skirmishes, and then finally the Salisbury Ministry in 1898 allowed the Sirdar or Egyptian commander-in-chief, then General Kitchener, to lead a mixed Egyptian and British army against the Khalifa Abdullah, who had succeeded the Mahdi. At Omdurman, the native capital, opposite Khartoum, the Dervishes were defeated after a superb stand against modern artillery. Soon afterwards the Khalifa was slain, and the Soudan, with its former population of eight millions reduced nearly one-half by oppression, entered upon a fresh career of prosperity as an Anglo-Egyptian province.

After 1882 England's position in Egypt was from the international point of view thoroughly unsatisfactory. The British Government repeatedly announced that the occcupation was purely temporary, but despite the intrigues of European rivals circumstances proved too strong. Nominally Lord Cromer was

only Consul-General, but before his retirement in 1907 he and his assistants had practically overshadowed the Egyptian authorities and in their name re-made Egypt. Corruption had been put down relentlessly, and by clever engineering the Nile irrigation system upon which Egypt's prosperity depends was greatly improved. Unfortunately the Egyptians, victims of age-long oppression, did not display any talent for self-government, although attempts were made to establish representative institutions. When Sir Eldon Gorst, Cromer's successor, somewhat relaxed control the result was not encouraging, and on his death in 1911 his successor, Lord Kitchener, had to deal firmly with the noisy though unimportant sedition-mongers. However, before this time Edward VII's *entente cordiale* with France had in 1904 resulted in an agreement with the French, as the European nation most concerned, that Great Britain should fix her own time for the withdrawal of her control from the country, while in return the special interests of France in Morocco should be recognized. England's hand was ultimately forced by the scarcely-veiled hostility of the Khedive Abbas II, who had succeeded Tewfik in 1892. When the war of 1914 broke out he threw in his lot with Turkey, the ally of Germany, and was deposed in favour of his uncle Hussein. The British Government recognized Hussein as the Sultan of Egypt, to the delight of most Egyptians, and substituted a British for a Turkish Protectorate over Egypt. The new Sultan has the combined advantages of a European education and the passionate devotion of the *fellahin*, or peasantry, for whose interests he has always worked, and the defence of his throne was undertaken by a British force in which English Territorials, Indian troops, and volunteers from Australia and New Zealand, including Maoris, were all represented.

Long before England had disposed of the Dervishes she had become involved in fresh African problems. She took part in the "scramble for Africa" which began in 1884 even more unwillingly than in the Egyptian problem. France had acquired Algiers by conquest in 1830, and during the rest of the century expanded until she took in most of North-West Africa as far south as the River Congo. The travels of Livingstone and Stanley had opened up Central Africa, and by 1880 King Leopold of Belgium had turned most of the basin of the Congo and a strip of seaboard into the Congo Free State, which was recognized as an international neutral state by the Berlin

Conference of 1884. Portugal extended as far as possible her old possessions, and at one time even hoped to join her eastern to her western provinces until Great Britain objected. Italy occupied part of Somaliland and Eritrea, the East African coast district near the entrance to the Red Sea, and for a short time even aspired to a protectorate over Abyssinia till her defeat at Adowa in 1896. The real difficulty was between Great Britain and Germany. The latter had come late into the colonial field, but despite the protests of the Capetown Ministry she was allowed in 1886 to annex Damaraland, or German South-West Africa, except the coastal islands and Walfisch Bay, the only good harbour. The east coast between the rivers Juba and Rovuma was shared by Great Britain and Germany between 1884 and 1895, while England assumed the sole protectorate of Zanzibar and surrendered Heligoland, which lies opposite the mouth of the Elbe, in the hope of improving Anglo-German relations (1890).

It was impossible for the South African Republic to maintain the old state of affairs in the face of this opening up of Africa. Between 1888 and 1894 the British colonies of Bechuanaland and Rhodesia had been established to the east and north of their territory respectively, and the extension of the railway northwards from Capetown, and westwards from Durban and Delagoa Bay, had introduced closer relations between the Boers and their British and Portuguese neighbours. It is not yet possible to say definitely how far they were directly encouraged in their ambitions by the German authorities, but it is certain that arms and ammunition were secretly poured into South Africa during the years before the war, and that the Boers believed that they would be helped in the coming struggle with Great Britain. Such a struggle was bound to come, for the Boers, although they forced the white immigrants to serve in expeditions against the natives and to pay heavy taxes, refused to concede the equality provided for in the convention of 1884, and not only kept a tight hand over Johannesburg itself, but also made it all but impossible for the immigrants to qualify for the franchise by naturalization.

It is possible to sympathize to some extent with the reluctance of the Boers to allow themselves to be swamped at the polls by the heterogeneous mass of Outlanders, some of whom possessed but indifferent characters. At the end of 1895 occurred the foolish "Jameson Raid," an expedition consisting

of a few hundred troopers led by Dr. Jameson, the Administrator of Rhodesia. Professedly it had for its object the protection of the women and children of Johannesburg from danger, but the Boers maintained, with some show of probability, that the intention was to support a revolt of the Outlanders. However, the raiders were captured and handed over to the British authorities for punishment. The slight sentences passed on the prisoners, and the total escape of Cecil Rhodes, the leader of the South African Imperialist Party, in default of direct evidence against him, angered the Boers still more. Unfortunately for them, a telegram of congratulation sent to President Krüger by the German Emperor completely altered the attitude of most Englishmen, and Krüger did not improve the situation by refusing to make any real concession to the Outlanders, who now far outnumbered the Boers.

Sir Alfred Milner was sent out as Special Commissioner in 1897, and soon became convinced that the Boers were aiming at the expulsion of the British from South Africa, and that not only must they be compelled to recognize that England had not abandoned its claim to be paramount power in South Africa despite the convention of 1884, but that peace would not be possible till the Outlanders received full political rights. The Boers looked upon Milner and Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, as supporters of Cecil Rhodes, and a large number of the Cape Dutch sympathized with Krüger's point of view. When a conference was held at Bloemfontein in 1899 the Boers refused to assent to the British demands, realizing that to assent meant the surrender of the Transvaal to the control of the Outlander. The British Government in reply began to pour troops into the country, and a fatuous ultimatum from Krüger, demanding that this policy should cease, made war inevitable. The Orange Free State threw in its lot with the South African Republic.

To such a war there could be but one end, although each party began by despising its enemy and suffered accordingly. A fragment of the Liberal Party, contemptuously styled "Pro-Boers," opposed Chamberlain's Imperialism, but probably neither Krüger nor the Colonial Secretary were as much to blame as the little clique of European adventurers who egged on the old Boer to ruin his life's work by promises of outside aid against unpopular England. For three years the war continued. At first the Boers outnumbered the English troops

available, and many of the latter were locked up in Ladysmith, Natal, under command of Sir George White. The Boers lost their only chance of causing a Dutch rising at the Cape by laying siege to Ladysmith and to Kimberley, on the south-western border of the Orange Free State, perhaps from personal hatred of Rhodes, who was in the latter town. As they failed to sweep down to Durban and Capetown, they had to waste time in sieges that were hopeless, despite their unexpected strength in artillery. General Buller was unable to relieve Ladysmith, nor could Lord Methuen drive the Boers from before Kimberley; and when in the "Black Week" of December 1899 Buller, Methuen, and Gatacre, who was operating between them, each met with defeat, the British Government began to look upon the war more seriously.

Lord Roberts, the Indian veteran, with Kitchener as Chief of Staff, was sent out at the head of an ever-increasing force. Soon the British had 400,000 men in South Africa. Roberts raised the siege of Kimberley, and after the capture of Cronjé at Paardeburg, on the anniversary of Majuba Hill, Bloemfontein was occupied. About the same time Buller drove the Boers from before Ladysmith just in time, and Boer resistance in the field began to collapse despite the heroic struggles of General Botha, who had commanded in Natal. After Pretoria fell, Lord Roberts returned to England, but for two years longer Lord Kitchener had to wage a guerilla war with Botha and other leaders, chief of whom were De Wet and Delarey. Kitchener was enthusiastically supported by colonial volunteers not only from Africa, but also from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. By scientifically-contrived drives, aided by a system of blockhouses and barbed-wire fencing, Kitchener at last overcame the wonderful mobility of the Boers. Queen Victoria died in January 1901, her death being hastened by the war, but her son Edward VII, soon after his coronation, received a visit from Botha and others of the Boer leaders who, on June 1, 1902, had concluded the Treaty of Vereeniging with Kitchener. Botha proved himself to be as able a statesman as he was a soldier, and although he had to acknowledge that henceforth the Transvaal and the Free State were part of the British Empire, he frankly accepted the policy of reconciliation. Gifts and loans of money to the Boers soon repaired the outward signs of war, and, thanks to the grant of self-government to the Transvaal in 1906 and to the Orange

River Colony in 1907, the Boers ceased for the most part to feel any deep repining.

Before the war was over Krüger escaped to Europe and soon afterwards died. Botha had never sympathized with his extremer views, and when self-government had been granted to the Boers he was quite willing to take part in the movement for the confederation of South Africa. In 1908 a convention representing the four colonies met, and after several months of careful deliberation drafted a constitution which proposed to create the "Union of South Africa." By June 1909 the Constitution had been accepted by all the four colonies, and on September 20, 1909, was passed as a statute by the Imperial Parliament. It created a unitary state, in which the constituent provinces retained very little power. The central authority is vested in the Governor-General, representing the Crown, and two chambers; the Senate, which sits for ten years, consists of forty members, eight elected by each province and eight appointed by the Governor-in-Council—that is, by the ministry of the day, while the House of Assembly, which sits for five years, is composed of 121 members, 51 elected by Cape Colony, 36 by the Transvaal, and 17 each by the Orange Free State and Natal. The Union represents the triumph of intelligent compromise, for not only are English and Dutch equally official languages, but the difficult question of the capital was settled by the arrangement under which the Executive sits at Pretoria, while the Legislature meets at Capetown. The entry of Rhodesia into the Union is provided for.

For a time, even under the Union, there were serious industrial and political troubles, and there is ever present the problem of the native inhabitants and the immigration of Eastern, especially Indian peoples. General Botha was the first Union Premier, but he was too statesmanlike to sacrifice either Dutch or English to the other, and too wise and honest to simulate an enthusiasm for the extremer views of Imperialism. His studied moderation led to an attempted revival of "Krügerism," with which his old comrades, Beyers, De Wet, and perhaps Delarey, sympathized. When the war of 1914 broke out and some of the "Back-veldt" Boers attempted a mad rising, relying on German help, Botha saved the situation by undertaking to restore order solely by the union's newly organized Citizen Force. Delarey was accidentally shot before he had declared himself, but in the subsequent skirmishes

Beyers was slain and De Wet taken prisoner. The rebellion ignominiously collapsed in the face of the general indignation of the Dutch, and Botha was left free to proceed with the attack on German South-West Africa, which had been the ostensible cause of the rebellion.

Imperial Federation.—This sketch of British Colonial Policy would be incomplete without some account of the movement known as Imperial Federation, which promises to crown the system of self-governing federations within the empire by a federation of the empire. The problems to be solved are extremely difficult. Out of a population of nearly four hundred and fifty millions there are less than sixty millions of white men, and of these about four-fifths live in the United Kingdom. The rest of the white population live mainly in independent self-governing federations, the nearest of which lies considerably over two thousand miles away, though all are bound together by British predominance on the sea. Perhaps India, whose vast native population once seemed a stumbling-block to Imperial Federation, will best be provided for by special arrangements as a Protected Federation within which the principles of self-government may take longer to develop, and there are undoubted difficulties as to the position of the Crown Colonies which do not possess self-government.

However, few statesmen either at home or in the colonies doubt the inevitableness of closer union between the self-governing units of the empire. There are two separate, although not necessarily mutually exclusive proposals. The Imperial Federation League looked to the development of some form of political federation, for many colonial statesmen realize the difficulties that might arise so long as their relations to the King continue to be through a Colonial Secretary responsible to the electorate of the United Kingdom. The Colonial, or, as it is now called, the Imperial Conference, which began in 1887 as a decennial meeting, eventually developed into a meeting of the colonial premiers with the Imperial authorities every four years, and the colonial statesmen were entrusted with the secrets of Imperial defence in the spirit of the challenge made by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Canadian premier: "If you need our aid, call us to your councils." The result was soon seen in the promises of military, naval, and financial aid that were cheerfully given by the self-governing colonies in proportion to their means, and more than redeemed

both before and at the outbreak of the war of 1914. The war has made Imperial Federation merely a matter of terms so far as political federation is concerned, although the United Kingdom must probably sacrifice her present unique position in the empire for the sake of the future of her political ideals.

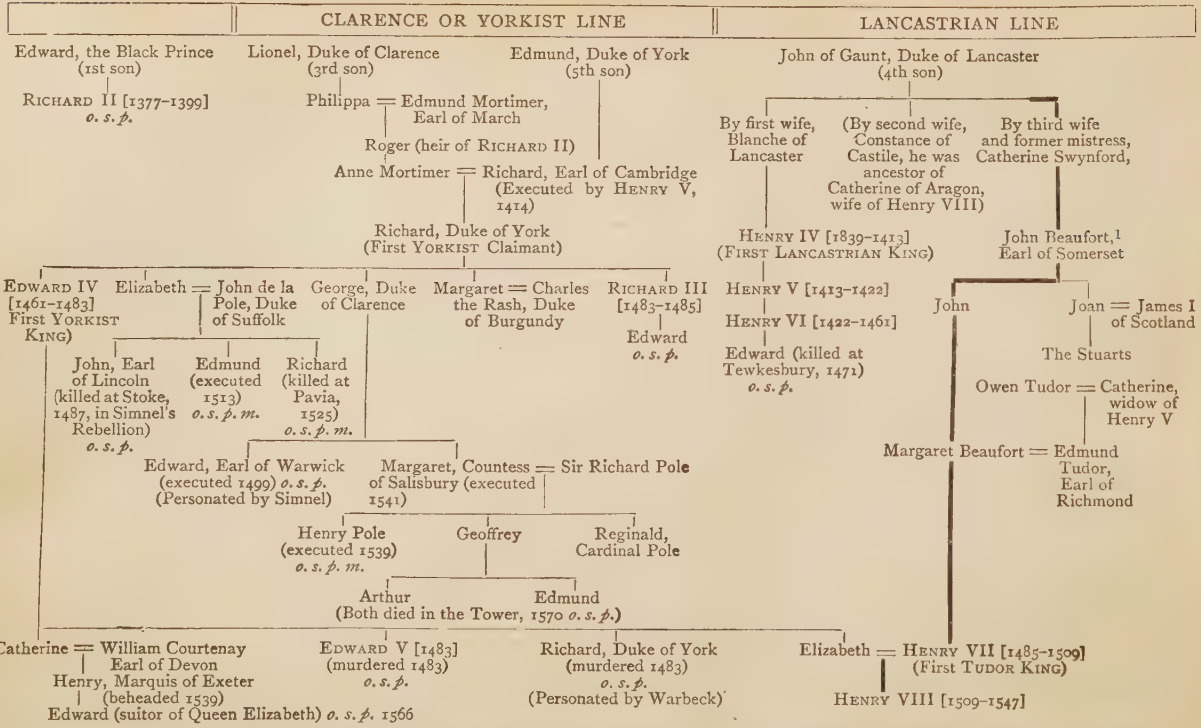
The second proposal, to some exent supplementary to the first, is to federate the empire by the introduction of a system of reciprocal tariff preferences among the members. The scheme somewhat resembles the old colonial system without the irritating claim of the Imperial Parliament to control the external trade of the colonies. Under present conditions it can only be carried out by a system of voluntary tariff preferences accorded to the mother country in return for her disproportionate share of Imperial burdens, for her own market is open to the world on equal terms. However, Sir John Macdonald, the author of the Canadian National Policy, preferred a system of reciprocity treaties between the colonies and the mother country, and between the various colonies themselves. Such a proposal meant the establishment of a protective tariff in the United Kingdom, and the Imperial Federation League soon broke up on this proposal.

However, the Liberal leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, became Premier of the Dominion of Canada in 1896 on the defeat of the Protectionists. The Canadian Liberals had long stood for reciprocity with the United States and for a revenue tariff. The attitude of the Americans made the former policy impossible, and Laurier, although he remodelled the tariff somewhat, took the momentous step of offering the mother country an unconditional preference on her imports into Canada. The British Government accepted this although it compelled them to denounce their commercial treaties with the German Empire and Belgium which dated from 1862 and 1864. Germany protested, but the resulting tariff war with Canada brought her no relief, and the British preference was steadily increased from 12½ per cent. in 1897 to 25 per cent. in 1898 and 33⅓ per cent. in 1900. Slight alterations were afterwards made to please the Canadian manufacturers, but not only has the policy of preference met with little opposition in Canada, but it has also been copied by New Zealand (1903), Australia (1905), and the South African Customs Union (1906), and various reciprocity treaties have been made by the colonies with each other.

Chamberlain could not remain indifferent to the action of

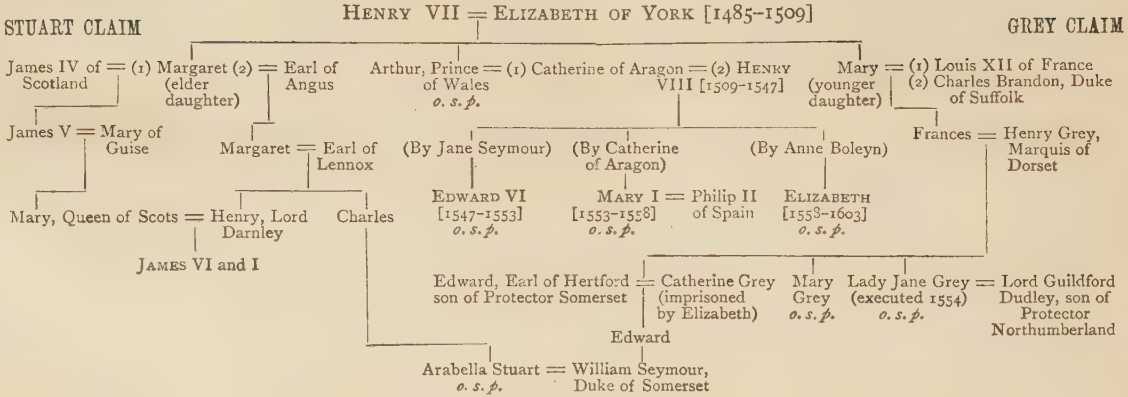
Canada, and his early Free Trade views had been shaken by the marvellous strides taken by Germany, the United States, and Canada under a system of "scientific tariffs" during the years in which English trade had not retained its phenomenal rate of advance. He was influenced, too, by the increasing demand for wheat both in the United States and the Old World with which the former sources of supply seemed unable to cope, and desired to encourage the growth of wheat in the colonies. In 1903 he propounded a scheme for the introduction of a moderate protective tariff, including a tax on imported corn, which was not to apply to the colonies. With this tariff he intended not only to regain Britain's bargaining powers and so re-introduce the system of reciprocity treaties, but also more especially to initiate a scheme for mutual preference between the mother country and the self-governing states of the empire, since the latter were unable to accept his earlier proposal for a Free Trade Imperial Customs Union. The failure of the movement has already been alluded to in a previous chapter. Chamberlain's scheme was crude and probably premature, and the Unionist Party have shown a tendency to seek a substitute for the unpopular food tax. However, it is significant that when the Laurier Government actually negotiated a reciprocity treaty with the United States in 1911 they were decisively beaten at the polls, largely on the cry that they were endangering the Imperial connection. Practically the monarchy is the sole remaining bond between the United Kingdom and her colonies, and yet, though the colonists insist that each federation is "mistress in its own house," they show an ever-increasing tendency to form new ties with their motherland under their common head the King.

THE TUDOR CLAIM TO THE THRONE


EDWARD III
CLARENCE OR YORKIST LINE
LANCASTRIAN LINE
Edward, the Black Prince (1st son)
RICHARD II [1377–1399] o. s. p.
Lionel, Duke of Clarence (3rd son)
Philippa = Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March
Roger (heir of RICHARD II)
Anne Mortimer = Richard, Earl of Cambridge (Executed by HENRY V, 1414)
Edmund, Duke of York (5th son)
Richard, Duke of York (First YORKIST Claimant)
John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (4th son)
By first wife, Blanche of Lancaster
(By second wife, Constance of Castile, he was ancestor of Catherine of Aragon, wife of Henry VIII)
By third wife and former mistress, Catherine Swynford,
HENRY IV [1839–1413] (FIRST LANCASTRIAN KING)
John Beaufort,[1] Earl of Somerset
HENRY V [1413–1422]
HENRY VI [1422–1461]
Edward (killed at Tewkesbury, 1471) o. s. p.
John
Joan = James I of Scotland
The Stuarts
Owen Tudor = Catherine, widow of Henry V
Margaret Beaufort = Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond
EDWARD IV [1461–1483] First YORKIST KING)
Elizabeth = John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk
George, Duke of Clarence
Margaret = Charles the Rash, Duke of Burgundy
RICHARD III [1483–1485]
Edward o. s. p.
John, Earl of Lincoln (killed at Stoke, 1487, in Simnel's Rebellion) o. s. p.
Edmund (executed 1513) o. s. p. m.
Richard (killed at Pavia, 1525) o. s. p. m.
Edward, Earl of Warwick (executed 1499) o. s. p. (Personated by Simnel)
Margaret, Countess of Salisbury (executed 1541) = Sir Richard Pole
Henry Pole (executed 1539) o. s. p. m.
Geoffrey
Reginald, Cardinal Pole
Arthur
Edmund
(Both died in the Tower, 1570 o. s. p.)
Catherine = William Courtenay Earl of Devon
Henry, Marquis of Exeter (beheaded 1539)
Edward (suitor of Queen Elizabeth) o. s. p. 1566
EDWARD V [1483] (murdered 1483) o. s. p.
Richard, Duke of York (murdered 1483) o. s. p. (Personated by Warbeck)
Elizabeth = HENRY VII [1485–1509] (First TUDOR KING)
HENRY VIII [1509–1547]

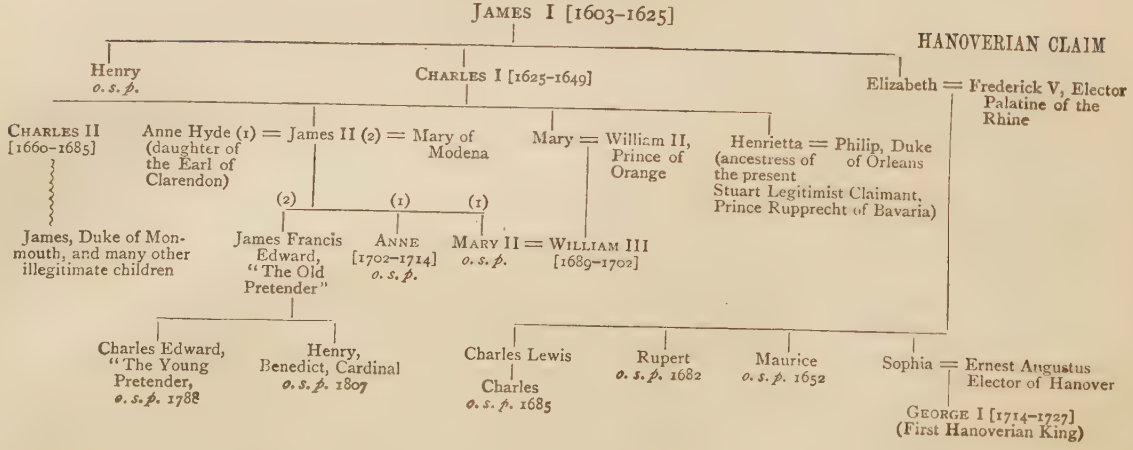
[1] John Beaufort was born *before* the marriage of John of Gaunt and Catherine Swynford. The Beauforts were formally legitimated by Richard II in 1397, but when the Patent was exemplified and confirmed by Henry IV in 1407 he added "*excepta dignitate regali.*"

THE HOUSE OF TUDOR

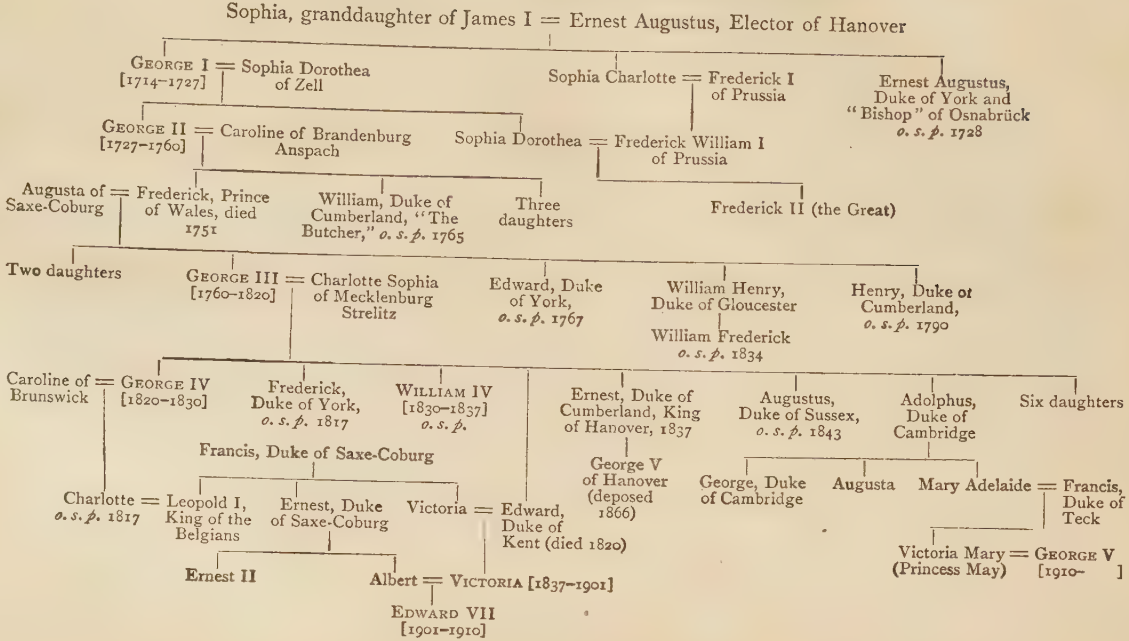

STUART CLAIM
HENRY VII = ELIZABETH OF YORK [1485–1509]
GREY CLAIM
James IV of Scotland = (1) Margaret (elder daughter) (2) = Earl of Angus
Arthur, Prince of Wales o. s. p. = (1) Catherine of Aragon = (2) HENRY VIII [1509–1547]
Mary (younger daughter) = (1) Louis XII of France (2) Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk
James V = Mary of Guise
Margaret = Earl of Lennox
(By Jane Seymour)
(By Catherine of Aragon)
(By Anne Boleyn)
Frances = Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset
EDWARD VI [1547–1553] o. s. p.
MARY I = Philip II of Spain [1553–1558] o. s. p.
ELIZABETH [1558–1603] o. s. p.
Mary, Queen of Scots = Henry, Lord Darnley
Charles
JAMES VI and I
Edward, Earl of Hertford son of Protector Somerset = Catherine Grey (imprisoned by Elizabeth)
Mary Grey o. s. p.
Lady Jane Grey (executed 1554) o. s. p. = Lord Guildford Dudley, son of Protector Northumberland
Edward
Arabella Stuart o. s. p. = William Seymour, Duke of Somerset

NOTES.—*o. s. p.* = died without issue. *o. s. p. m.* = died without male issue. Reigning kings printed in capitals, as RICHARD II. The dates annexed are the periods of the various reigns.

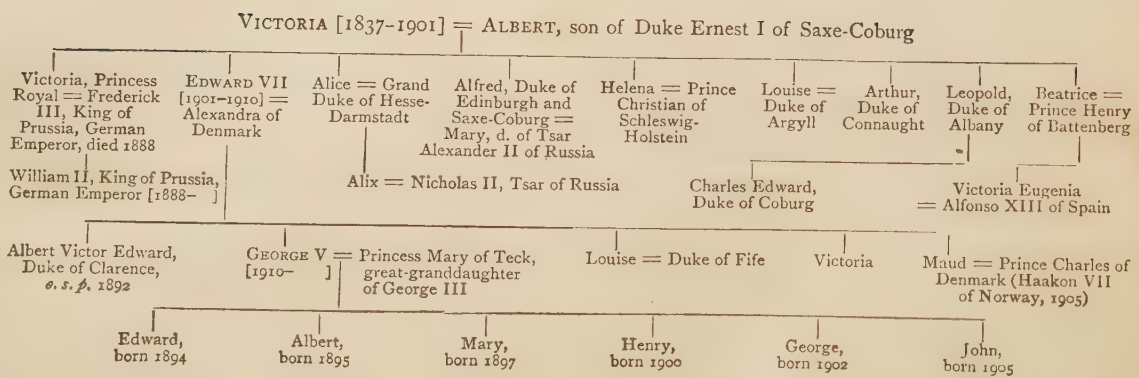
THE HOUSE OF STUART


JAMES I [1603–1625]
HANOVERIAN CLAIM
Henry
o. s. p.
CHARLES I [1625–1649]
Elizabeth = Frederick V, Elector Palatine of the Rhine
CHARLES II [1660–1685]
Anne Hyde (1) = James II (2) = Mary of Modena
(daughter of the Earl of Clarendon)
Mary = William II, Prince of Orange
Henrietta = Philip, Duke of Orleans
(ancestress of the present Stuart Legitimist Claimant, Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria)
(2)
(1)
(1)
James, Duke of Monmouth, and many other illegitimate children
James Francis Edward, "The Old Pretender"
ANNE [1702–1714]
o. s. p.
MARY II = WILLIAM III [1689–1702]
o. s. p.
Charles Edward, "The Young Pretender,"
o. s. p. 1788
Henry, Benedict, Cardinal
o. s. p. 1807
Charles Lewis
Charles
o. s. p. 1685
Rupert
o. s. p. 1682
Maurice
o. s. p. 1652
Sophia = Ernest Augustus Elector of Hanover
GEORGE I [1714–1727]
(First Hanoverian King)

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER OR BRUNSWICK

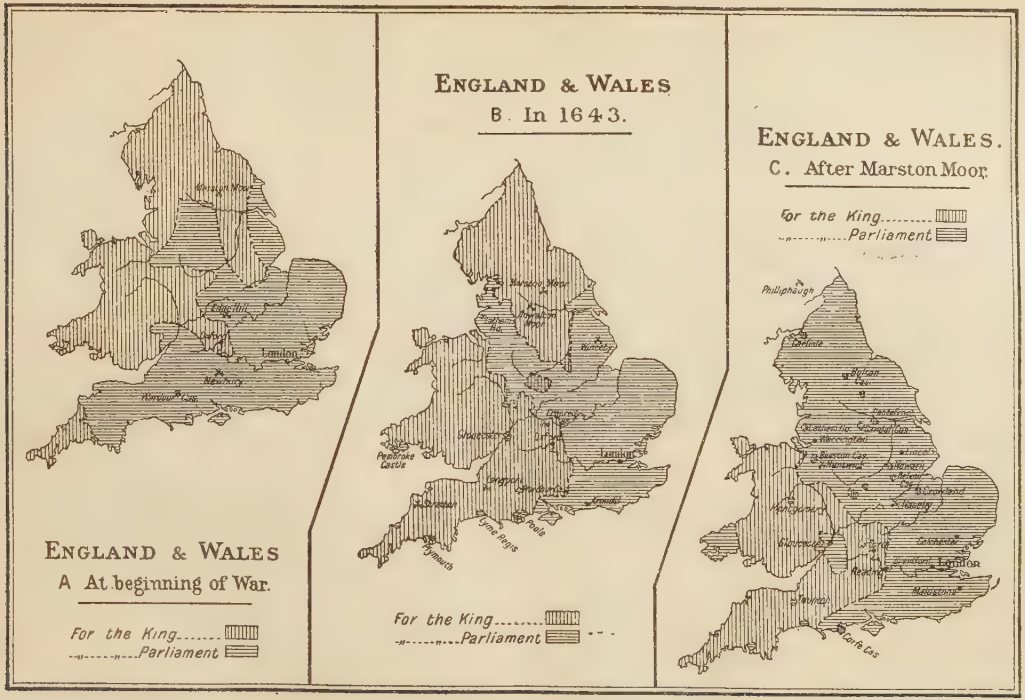

Sophia, granddaughter of James I = Ernest Augustus, Elector of Hanover
George I [1714–1727] = Sophia Dorothea of Zell
Sophia Charlotte = Frederick I of Prussia
Ernest Augustus, Duke of York and "Bishop" of Osnabrück o. s. p. 1728
George II [1727–1760] = Caroline of Brandenburg Anspach
Sophia Dorothea = Frederick William I of Prussia
Augusta of Saxe-Coburg = Frederick, Prince of Wales, died 1751
William, Duke of Cumberland, "The Butcher," o. s. p. 1765
Three daughters
Frederick II (the Great)
Two daughters
George III [1760–1820] = Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburg Strelitz
Edward, Duke of York, o. s. p. 1767
William Henry, Duke of Gloucester
Henry, Duke of Cumberland, o. s. p. 1790
William Frederick o. s. p. 1834
Caroline of Brunswick = George IV [1820–1830]
Frederick, Duke of York, o. s. p. 1817
William IV [1830–1837] o. s. p.
Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, King of Hanover, 1837
Augustus, Duke of Sussex, o. s. p. 1843
Adolphus, Duke of Cambridge
Six daughters
Francis, Duke of Saxe-Coburg
George V of Hanover (deposed 1866)
George, Duke of Cambridge
Augusta
Mary Adelaide = Francis, Duke of Teck
Charlotte = Leopold I, King of the Belgians o. s. p. 1817
Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Coburg
Victoria = Edward, Duke of Kent (died 1820)
Victoria Mary (Princess May) = George V [1910–]
Ernest II
Albert = Victoria [1837–1901]
Edward VII [1901–1910]

THE HOUSE OF SAXE-COBURG

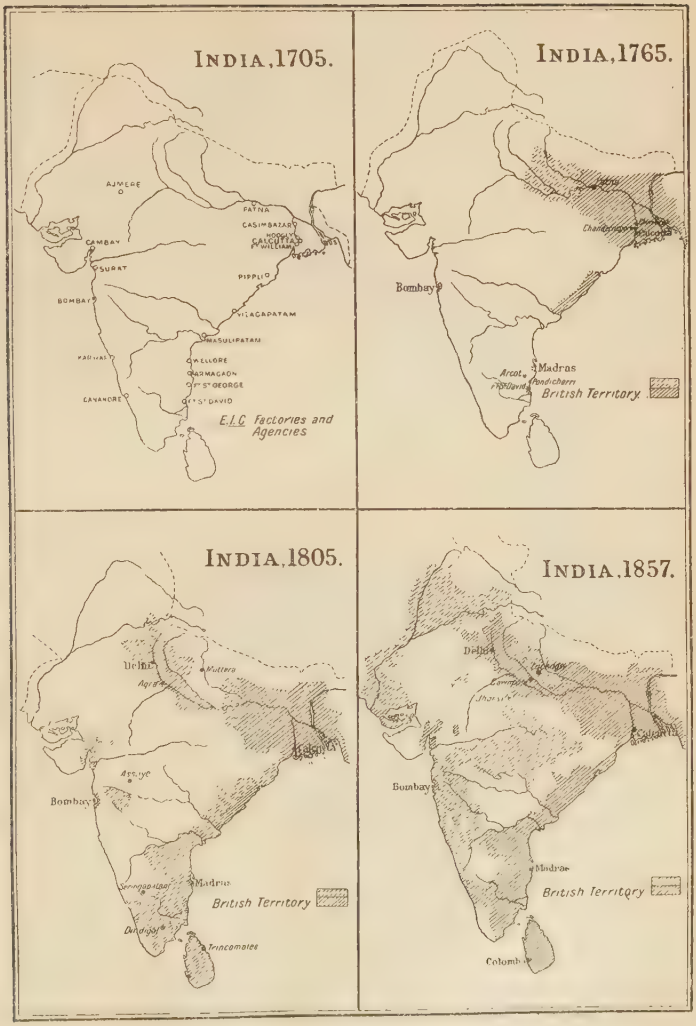

VICTORIA [1837–1901] = ALBERT, son of Duke Ernest I of Saxe-Coburg
Victoria, Princess Royal = Frederick III, King of Prussia, German Emperor, died 1888
EDWARD VII [1901–1910] = Alexandra of Denmark
Alice = Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt
Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh and Saxe-Coburg = Mary, d. of Tsar Alexander II of Russia
Helena = Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein
Louise = Duke of Argyll
Arthur, Duke of Connaught
Leopold, Duke of Albany
Beatrice = Prince Henry of Battenberg
William II, King of Prussia, German Emperor [1888–]
Alix = Nicholas II, Tsar of Russia
Charles Edward, Duke of Coburg
Victoria Eugenia = Alfonso XIII of Spain
Albert Victor Edward, Duke of Clarence, o. s. p. 1892
GEORGE V [1910–] = Princess Mary of Teck, great-granddaughter of George III
Louise = Duke of Fife
Victoria
Maud = Prince Charles of Denmark (Haakon VII of Norway, 1905)
Edward, born 1894
Albert, born 1895
Mary, born 1897
Henry, born 1900
George, born 1902
John, born 1905

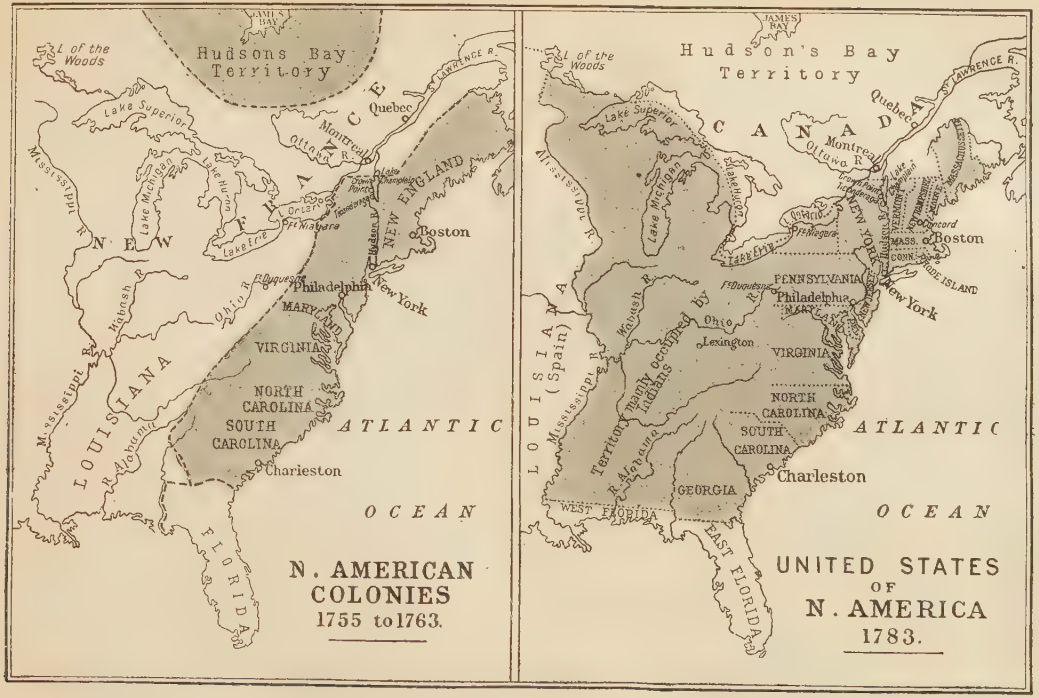
MAP
TO ILLUSTRATE THE
TUDOR & STUART PERIODS.

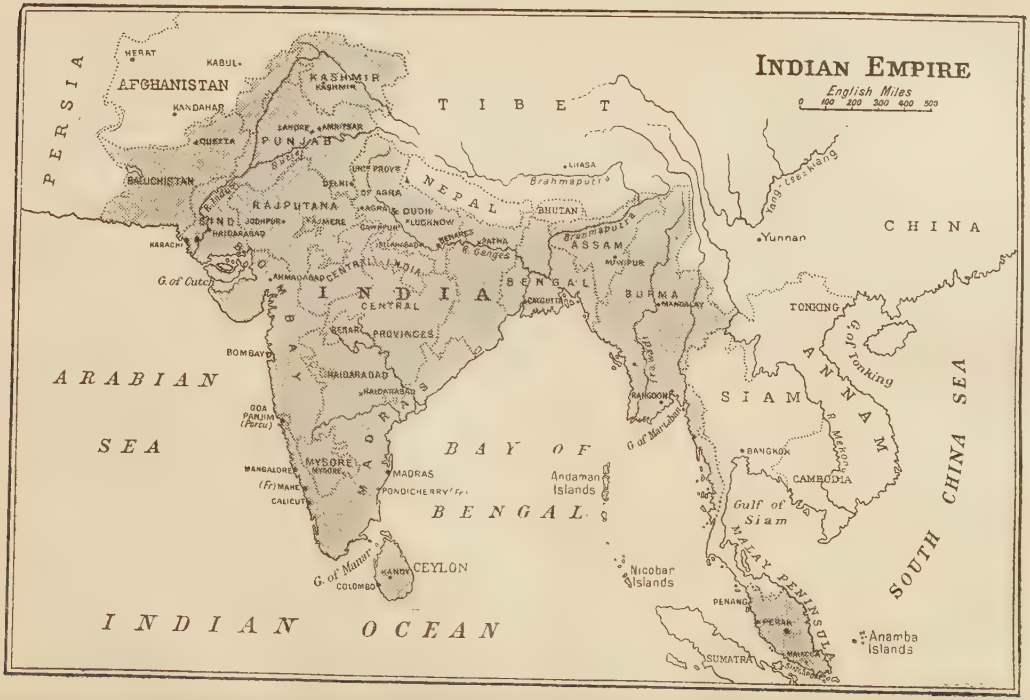
Welsh Counties are shewn as settled in 1543.

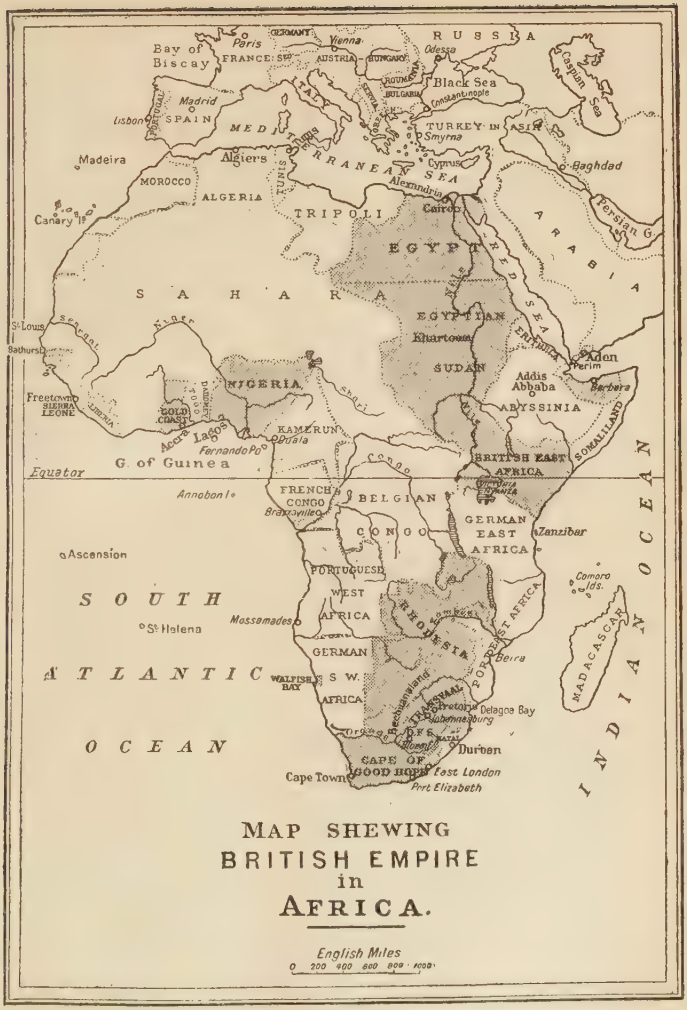

ENGLAND & WALES
A At beginning of War.
For the King
Parliament
Edgehill
London
Newbury
ENGLAND & WALES
B. In 1643.
Marston Moor
Naseby
Lostwithiel
Pendennis Castle
Plymouth
Lyme Regis
Poole
Arundel
For the King
Parliament
ENGLAND & WALES.
C. After Marston Moor
For the King
Parliament
Pillaphaugh
Carlisle
Berwick
Pontefract
Scarborough
Worcester
Lincoln
Newark
Belvoir
Crowland
Oxford
Gloucester
Colchester
London
Reading
Maidstone
Land's End

THE MARCHES
of the
JACOBITES
Moray Firth
Culloden
Inverness
INVERNESS
Aberdeen
Braemar
Mountains
Glenfinnan
L. Shiel
L. Lochy
Blair Athol
Killiecrankie
Grampians
PERTHSHIRE
NORTH
SEA
ARGYLE
Inveraray
Perth
Firth of Tay
Sheriffmuir
Stirling
Firth of Forth
Falkirk
Dunbar
Prestonpans
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Berwick
Kelso
Firth of Clyde
Cheviot Hills
North Channel
IRELAND
Dumfries
NORTHUMBERLAND
R. Tyne
Carlisle
Newcastle
Durham
Solway Firth
CUMBERLAND
DURHAM
R. Tees
WESTMORELAND
Kendal
I. OF MAN
YORKSHIRE
Lancaster
York
Morecambe Bay
LANCASHIRE
IRISH SEA
Preston
Wigan
R. Mersey
R. Dee
Manchester
LINCOLN
SHIRE
DERBY
SHIRE
Cheadle
Derby
Boston


INDIA, 1705.
AJMERE
PATNA
CASIMBAZARO
CALCUTTA
Ft WILLIAM
CAMBAY
SURAT
PIPPLI
BOMBAY
VISAGAPATAM
MASULIPATAM
MADRAS
NELLORE
PONDICHERY
PORTO NOVO
PORT ST GEORGE
CUDDALORE
CAVANORE
PORT ST DAVID
E.I.C. Factories and Agencies
INDIA, 1765.
Bombay
Madras
Arcot
Pondicherri
British Territory
INDIA, 1805.
Delhi
Mattra
Agra
Bombay
Madras
Seringapatam
Trincomalee
British Territory
INDIA, 1857.
Delhi
Bombay
Madras
Colombo
British Territory


Hudsons Bay Territory
L of the Woods
Lake Superior
Quebec
Montreal
Ottawa R.
St. LAWRENCE R.
Mississippi R.
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Erie
Ft Niagara
NEW FRANCE
NEW ENGLAND
Boston
Philadelphia
New York
MARYLAND
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
Charleston
Wabash R.
Ohio R.
Alabama R.
LOUISIANA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
FLORIDA
N. AMERICAN COLONIES
1755 to 1763.
Hudson's Bay Territory
CANADA
Lake Champlain
Lake Ontario
Ft Niagara
NEW YORK
VERMONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASS.
Concord
Boston
CONN.
RHODE ISLAND
PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia
New York
Ohio R.
Lexington
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
Charleston
GEORGIA
WEST FLORIDA
EAST FLORIDA
LOUISIANA (Spain)
Territory mainly occupied by Indians
ATLANTIC OCEAN
UNITED STATES OF N. AMERICA
1783.


INDIAN EMPIRE
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
PERSIA
AFGHANISTAN
HERAT
KABUL
KANDAHAR
QUETTA
BALUCHISTAN
KASHMIR
KASHMIR
PUNJAB
SIND
RAJPUTANA
JODHPUR
HAIDARABAD
KARACHI
G. of Cutch
AHMADABAD
CENTRAL INDIA
CENTRAL PROVINCES
BERAR
BOMBAY
HAIDARABAD
GOA
PANJIM (Portu.)
MYSORE
MANGALORE
(Fr.) MAHE
CALICUT
MADRAS
PONDICHERRY (Fr.)
G. of Manaar
COLOMBO
KANDY
CEYLON
ARABIAN SEA
INDIAN OCEAN
BAY OF BENGAL
TIBET
LHASA
NEPAL
BHUTAN
ASSAM
MANIPUR
BENGAL
CALCUTTA
BURMA
MANDALAY
RANGOON
Brahmaputra
Ganges
Yangtse-Kiang
Yunnan
CHINA
TONKING
G. of Tonking
ANNAM
Mekong
SIAM
BANGKOK
CAMBODIA
Gulf of Siam
MALAY PENINSULA
PENANG
PERAK
SUMATRA
Andaman Islands
Nicobar Islands
Anamba Islands
SOUTH CHINA SEA



MAP SHEWING
BRITISH EMPIRE
in
AFRICA.

English Miles
0 200 400 600 800 1000

INDEX

For Battles, Plots, Rebellions, Revolutions, Royal Marriages, Statutes, Treaties and Wars, see under the respective Group headings.

ABBAS II, Khedive, 320
Abbey lands, 39, 43, 44
Abdul Aziz, Sultan, 289
—— Hamid II, 289–91, 293–4, 318
Abdur Rahman, Ameer, 310
Abercromby, General, 190
Aberdeen, 91
——, Lord, 230, 234
Abhorrers, 110
Able-bodied paupers, 255–6
Absalom and Achitophel, 111
Abyssinia, 321
Acadie, 134, 153
Addington, Lord Sidmouth, 191–2, 213
Addled Parliament, 68
Aden, 310
Admonition, the Second, 49
Adrianople, 289
Adullamites, the, 236
Advertisement Duty, 272
Advertisements, the, 52
Afghanistan, 278, 304–5, 310
Africa, 160, 250, 291, 314–25
——, Central, 320
——, East, 321
——, North-East. *See* Egypt and Soudan.
——, South, 298, 314–8, 321–5
——, South-West, 321, 325
——, West, 314, 320. *See also* Separate Colonies.
"*Africander Nation*," 315
Agadir incident, 294–5
Agitators, the, 92
Agrarian troubles, 212
—— —— (Ireland), 229
Agreement of the People, the, 93
Agricultural depression, 233, 242, 266
Agricultural labourers, 242, 245, 255, 273 275
—— —— Union, 273, 275
Agricultural Revolution, 204–6
Air raids, 297
Aislabie, 140
Akbar, Mogul Emperor, 156
—— Khan, 305
Alabama, Confederate cruiser, 240, 286, 303
Albania, 295
Alberoni, Cardinal, 138–9
Albert, Archduke, 25
——, Prince Consort, 226, 234, 239
Alberta, 304
Alençon, Duke of, 21, 49
Alexander I, Czar, 195–6, 201, 203, 213, 285
—— II, Czar, 281, 284–5, 289–90
——, King of Serbia, 293
Alexandra, Queen, 286
Alexandria, 188, 244, 318
Algeçiras, 292
Algerine pirates, 82
Algiers, 320
Alien immigration, 56, 60–1
Alleghany Mountains, 153
Allen, Cardinal, 48, 50
Allen, Trade Unionist, 273
"*All the Talents*" Ministry, 193
Alsace-Lorraine, 287
Althorp, Lord, 224
Alva, Duke of, 20, 49
Amalgamated Societies (Trade Unions), 273
—— Society of Engineers, 260, 273
America, 9, 62, 134, 150–4, 162, 266

American Colonies, 62, 98, 134, 135, 162–72. *See also* United States.
—— markets, 204
America, South, 68
——, Spanish, 213
Amherst, General, 154, 156
Amicable Loan, 13
Anarchists, 274
André, Major, 169
Andrewes, Lancelot, 54, 79
Anglican Church, Anglicans, 84–5, 87–8, 90–1, 93, 97, 101–3, 107, 113–15, 120, 126, 131–2, 135, 165, 185, 221–2, 233, 239, 267–9
Anglo-French Alliance. *See* Treaties.
—— —— Understanding, 320. See also *Entente cordiale* and Treaties.
—— -Japanese Alliance. *See* Treaties.
—— -Russian Alliance. *See* Treaties.
Anjou, Duke of (*later* Henry III of France), 21, 49
Annates, 45
Anne of Austria, 125
—— of Brittany, 6
—— of Cleves, 14, 15, 39
——, Queen, 109, 116, 119, 124, 126–36
——, Regent of France, 5, 6
Annual Parliaments, 210, 226, 232
Anson, Admiral, 146
Anti-Corn Law League, 228, 261–3
—— -Slavery Movement, 194, 222, 258
Antrim, 23
Antwerp, 61, 199
Apology of Parliament, 63
Apostolical Succession, 53
Applegarth, 273
Apprentices, 56
Aquinas, St. Thomas, 2
Arabella Stuart, 64
Arabi Pasha, 318
Aragon, 130
——, Catherine of, 8, 13, 14, 35–8, 43
——, Ferdinand of, 6–11, 15
——, Juan of, 8
——, Juana, 8
Arch, Joseph, 242, 275
Archduke Charles. *See* Charles VI, Emperor.
"*Areopagitica*," 120
Argyll, Earl of (Charles I's reign), 80, 90, 91, 95
—— —— —— (James II's reign), 113
—— —— —— (William III's reign), 121
——, Duke of (Anne's reign), 135, 137
Aristotle, 2
Arkwright, 207
Arlington, Henry Bennet, Lord. *See* Bennet, Henry.
Armada, the, 24, 25, 32, 52
Armed Neutrality, the, 168
Armenia, 290, 293
Arnold, Benedict, 169
Arras, 182
Arthur, Prince of Wales, 8, 9
——, Sir George, 301
Articles, the Forty-two, 42
——, the Six, 39
——, the Ten, 38
——, the Thirty-nine, 46, 76, 77
Artisan Class, conditions among the, 227
Ashley (Charles II's reign). *See* Cooper, Anthony Ashley.
—— (Social Reformer), later Earl of Shaftesbury, 258–260
Asiento contract, 134
Aske, Robert, 38
Asquith, H. H., 251–3
Assize Sermon, Keble's, 233
Attainder, Bill of, against Thomas Cromwell, 39; against Strafford, 85
Auckland, Lord, 305
Augsburg, League of, 120
Augusta, Princess of Wales, 159, 162
Augustenburg, Duke of, 285
Aurungzebe, Mogul Emperor, 156
Australasia, Australia, 266, 298, 311–14, 320, 326; and *see also* Separate Colonies.
Australian Volunteers, 320, 323
Austria, 125, 127, 133, 138, 145, 147, 152, 159, 181–3, 187–9, 191, 193, 199, 201, 213, 278–9, 282–6, 288, 290–1, 293–8
Austrian Netherlands, 181–2

Austrian Succession, War of, 147–50
Austro-Prussian Alliance (1879), 288
Authorized Version (of the Bible), 65
Avignon, 2

Babington, Anthony, 50
"Back-veldt" Boers, 324
Bacon, Sir Francis, 70
Badajos, 200
Baden, Margrave of, 128
Bakewell, 204
Balance of Power policy, 145, 282, 291
Balfour, A. J., 247, 250
Balkan Question, 242. *See also* Eastern Question.
"Balks," 205
Ballarat, 312
Ballard, Father, 50
Ballot, vote by, 211, 226, 239
Baltic Sea, 295
—— trade, 61
Bancroft, Archbishop, 53, 65
Bank of England, 123, 187, 220
Bankruptcy of Charles II, 105
Baptists, 47
Barcelona, 132
Barebone's Parliament, 96
Barnaby Rudge, 170
Baronets, Order of, 67
Barras, Director, 199
Barrier fortresses, 127, 134
Barrington, Dr. Shute, 267
Bashi-Bazouks, 242, 289
Bastilles (workhouses), 256
Bastwick, 81
Basutoland, 315
Batavian Republic, 187
Bate's case, 76
Batoum, 290
Battles—
Aberdeen, 91
Aboukir Bay, 108
Adowa, 321
Adwalton Moor, 89
Albuera, 200
Alexandria, 189
Aliwal, 306
Alma, 279
Almanza, 130, 132
Argaum, 197
Battles (*cont.*)—
Assaye, 197
Auerstadt, 195
Aughrim, 122
Austerlitz, 193, 195
Balaclava, 280
Barrosa, 200
Baylen, 198
Beachy Head, 123
Biscay, Bay of, 193
Blenheim, 128
Borodino, 201
Bosworth, 1, 5, 27
Bothwell Brig, 110
Boyne, 122
Breed's Hill, 167
Brihuega, 132
Brooklyn, 168
Bunker's Hill. *See* Breed's Hill.
Busaco, 199
Buxar, 173
Camden, 169
Camperdown, 188
Carbery Hill, 19
Castlebar, 190
Chalgrove, 89
Chilianwallah, 306
Copenhagen, 191, 196
Coronel, 297
Corunna, 198
Cropredy Bridge, 90
Culloden Moor, 149–50
Denain, Bridge of, 133
Dettingen, 147
Dominica, off, 171
Dunbar, 95
Edgehill, 89
Eylau, 195
Falkirk, 149
Falkland Isles, off, 297
Ferozeshah, 306
Fleurus, 184
Flodden, 9, 11
Fontenoy, 123, 148
Friedland, 195
Fuentes d'Onoro, 200
Gainsborough, 89
Gravelines, off, 16
Guinegatte, 11
Gujerat, 306
Hohenlinden, 189
Inkerman, 280

Battles (*cont.*)—
Inverlochy, 91
Isandhlwana, 316
Jemappes, 182
Jena, 195–9
Killiecrankie, 121
Königgrätz, 285
La Hogue, Cape, off, 123
Landen, 123
Langside, 19
Lansdowne, 89
Laswaree, 197
Leipzig, 201
Lexington, 167
Ligny, 202
Lostwithiel, 90
Lowestoft, off, 103
Lütter, 74
Magenta, 282
Maiwand, 310
Majuba Hill, 244, 317
Malplaquet, 130
Marengo, 189
Marignano, 12
Marston Moor, 90
Meanee, 305
Minden, 154, 159
Moodkee, 306
Mühlberg, 15
Nantwich, 90
Naseby, 92
Navarino, 216, 218
Newburn-on-Tyne, 84
Newbury, 89, 91
Newtown Butler, 122
Nile (Aboukir Bay), 188
Oltenitza, 279
Omdurman, 319
Orthez, 201
Oudenarde, 129, 131
Paardeburg, 323
Passaro, Cape, off, 138
Pavia, 12
Philiphaugh, 91
Pinkie, 9
Plassey, 158, 306
Porto Novo, 174
Preston, 93
Prestonpans, 149
Pyramids, 188
Pyrenees, 201
Quatre Bras, 202
Battles (*cont.*)—
Quebec, 156
Quiberon Bay, 155
Ramillies, 129
Roundaway Down, 89
Sadowa. *See* Königgrätz.
Salamanca, 200
Saragossa, 132
Saratoga, 168
Sedan, 287
Seringapatam, 188
Sheriffmuir, 137
Sievershausen, 16
Sobraon, 306
Solferino, 282
Solway Moss, 15
Spurs. *See* Guinegatte.
Steinkirk, 123
St. Quentin, 16
St. Vincent, Cape, off, 170, 187
Talavera, 199
Tel-el-Kebir, 318
Toulouse, 201
Trafalgar, 186, 193
Ulundi, 316
Ushant, Cape, off, 170, 184
Valmy, 182
Villa Viciosa, 132
Vimiero, 198
Vinegar Hill, 190
Vittoria, 201
Wagram, 199
Wandewash, 158
Warrington, 93
Waterloo, 202
Wigan, 93
Winceby, 89
Worcester, 95
Zürich, 189
Bavaria, 125, 128, 147, 189, 193, 287
Baxter, Richard, 81, 113
Baylen, capitulation of, 198
Bayonets introduced, 121
Bazaine, Marshal, 287
Beaconsfield, Earl of. *See* Disraeli, B.
Bechuanaland, 315, 321
"*Bedchamber Question*," 225
Bedford, Duke of, 161
"*Beggars of the Sea*," 21
Begums of Oudh, 174

Belgium, 181–2, 202, 226, 276, 286–7, 296–7, 326
"*Believer's Baptism*," 47
Bell, Dr., 267
Bellerophon, the, 203
Bellingham, assassin, 194
Benares, 174
Benedetti, Count, 287
"*Benevolences*," 29–30, 71, 75
Bengal, 158, 173, 308
Bennet, Henry, Lord Arlington, 104–6
Bentham, Jeremy, 211, 255
Bentinck, Lord William, Governor-General of India, 306
——, Lord George, 229
Beresford, Marshal, 199–200
Berkshire, 204
Berlin Conference (1884), 320
—— Congress (1878), 290
—— Decrees, 195
Bermudas, 301
Bernard, Sir Thomas, 267
Berwick, 83, 149
——, Duke of, 124, 129, 130
Bessarabia, 290
Bessemer steel rails introduced, 265
Beyers, General, 324–5
Bhonsla, the, of Berar, 196–7
Bilson, Warden of Winchester College, 53
Birmingham, 220, 227
—— League, 269
—— Political Union, 219
Bismarck, Prince, 283–8, 290–1, 318
Black Death, 2, 3, 4, 54
—— Sea, 279, 281, 286
—— —— Clause (Treaty of Paris, 1856), 240
—— Friday, 149
—— Hole of Calcutta, 158
—— Week (1899), 323
Blake, Admiral, 99
Blanc, Louis, 273
Block grant, 268
Bloemfontein, 315
—— Conference (1899), 322
Bloody Assizes, 113
Bloomsbury Gang, 161
Blücher, Marshal, 202
Board of Trade, 267
Board of Triers, 97
"*Bobbing John*," 137
Bocher, Joan, 42
Boers, 291, 314–18, 321–5
Bohemia, 69, 147
Boleyn, Anne, 14, 35, 37, 38
Bolingbroke, Viscount. *See* St. John, Henry.
Bombay, 173–5
Bonaparte, Napoleon. *See* Napoleon I.
——, Jerome, 195
——, Joseph, 195, 197, 198, 201
——, Louis, 195
Bonapartists, 287
Bond of Association, 50
Bonner, Bishop, 41–2, 44
"*Bonnie Prince Charlie*," 148
Book of Rates, 67
Boom Year (1872), 242
Bordeaux, French National Assembly at, 287
Border (Scottish), 91, 149
—— Laws, 66
Borough Road, 267
Boroughs, franchise in, 220–1, 233, 236–7, 245
——, pocket, 141
——, rotten, 141
Bosnia, 288, 290, 293, 296
Boston (U.S.A.), 166–8
—— Tea-party, 167
Botany Bay, 311
Botha, General, 323–4
Bothwell. *See* Hepburn, James.
Boulogne, 16, 192–3
Bourbon, Duke of, 12
Bourgeoisie, 223
Boxers, the, 311
"Boys," the, 143
Braddock, General, 154
Bradford, 89
Bradlaugh, C., 244
Bramham Moor, 48
Brandon, Charles, Duke of Suffolk, 11
Brazil, 198
Bread-scale, the, 255
Breda, Declaration of, 101–2
Bremen, 138
Brest, 192–3
Bridgewater Canal, 206

Bridgewater, Duke of, 206
Bridport, Lord, 187
Bright, John, 234, 236, 244, 246, 263–4
Brindley, James, 206
Brisk Boys, Shaftesbury's, 111
Bristol, fishing fleets, 61
——, riot at, 219
British and Foreign Schools Society, 267–8
British Columbia, 304
—— Guiana, 202
—— North America. *See* Separate Colonies.
Brittany, 154, 184
——, Anne of, 6
——, Francis, Duke of, 5
Brixham, 116
Broad-Bottomed Administration, 148
Broke, Captain, 202
Brougham, Lord, 212, 237
Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, 22
Brownists, 46, 51, 53, 63
Brydon, Dr., 305
Buccaneers, 21, 62
Buckeridge, Laud's tutor, 54, 79
Buckingham, Duke of, I. *See* Villiers, George.
——, Duke of, II, 104–5
Budget of 1909 rejected by the House of Lords, 251
Building Grants, 268
Bulgaria, 288–90, 293–5
——, Greater, 290
Bulgarian Atrocities, 242, 289
Buller, Charles, 301
—— Sir Redvers, 323
Burdet, Sir Francis, 211, 217
Burgage-holdings, 220
Burgers, President, 316
Burgos, 198
Burgoyne, General, 168
Burgundy, Charles, Duke of, 6
——, Louis, Duke of, 129
——, Margaret of, 5, 6, 7
——, Mary of, 6
Burke, Edmund, 141, 162–5, 167, 170–4, 177, 182–3, 194, 209
——, T. H., 244
Burleigh, Lord. *See* Cecil, Sir William.
Burmah, 304
Burrows, General, 310
Burschenschaft, the, 196
Burt, Thomas, 275
Burton, 81
"*Butcher, the*" (Duke of Cumberland), 149
Bute, Earl of, 159–61
Butt, Isaac, 238, 243
Byng, Admiral, the Elder, 138
——, ——, the Younger, 154

Cabal, the, 104, 106
Cabinet, the, 118–40, 159–61, 164, 194–5
Cabot, John, 9, 61
Cabul, 305, 310
Cadiz, 24–5, 73, 193, 200
Cairo, 188
Calais, 11, 16, 17, 25, 45
Calcutta, 158, 307
Calder, Sir R., 193
Calendar Reform, 150
Calvin, John, 46, 53, 76
Calvin's (*Colville's*) *case*, 66
Calvinists, 51, 54, 69, *and see* Puritans.
—— (France), 20
—— (Netherlands), 20
Cambray, League of, 10
Camisards, 128, 130
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Henry, 250
Campbell, Sir Colin, Lord Clyde, 308
Campbells, the (Scottish clan), 121, 148; *and see* Argyll.
Cambridge University, 239
Campeggio, Cardinal, 14, 35
Campion, Edmund, Jesuit, 22, 49, 50
Canada, 135, 150, 160, 168, 202, 225, 238, 298–304, 325–6
——, French, 153–6, *ana see* Quebec.
——, West, 303
Canadian Boatmen on the Nile 319
—— *National Policy*, 318
—— Pacific Railway, 304
—— Volunteers, 323
Canals, 206

Canals in Canada, 300
Canning, George, 192, 194, 196 198–9, 213, 216–17, 262, 277
——, Lord (Indian Governor), 307–9
——, Stratford, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, 278–9
Canningites, 213, 216, 218
Cannonade of Valmy, 182
Canterbury, 12
Canton, 311
Cape Breton Island, 154, 160
Cape Colony, 188, 202, 314–16, 322–3
Cape Dutch, 322; *and see* Boers.
Capetown, 316, 321, 323–4
Capitalists, rise of, 209, 211
Capitation grant, 268
Capitol (Washington), burning of, 202
Carisbrooke Castle, 93
Carlyle, Thomas, 231, 316
Carnarvon, Lord, 245–6, 316
Carnatic, 156–8
Carne, Diplomatist, 45
Carol, King of Roumania, 288, 295, 297
Carolina, 142, 165, 169
Caroline, Queen of George II, 142–3, 145
——, —— of George IV, 212
Carr, Robert, favourite of James I. *See* Ker, Robert.
Carteret, Lord, 142–3, 146–8
Carthage, 106
Carthusians, 37
Cartwright, Dr. (inventor), 208
——, Major, 210
—— (Puritan divine), 47, 49, 51, 52
Cary, Lucius, Lord Falkland, 85–6, 88–9
"*Casket Letters*," the, 19
Castile, Isabella, Queen of, 6, 9
——, Regency of, 9
Castlereagh, Lord, 190, 194, 199, 213
Catalonia, 129, 133
Catesby, Robert, 65–6
Catherine de Medicis, 18, 20
—— Howard, 40
—— of Aragon, 8, 13, 14, 35–8, 43
—— Parr, 40
Catholic Association, 216–17
Cattle-breeding experiments, 204
Cavalier Parliament, 101–8
Cavendish, Sir Frederick, 244
Cave of Adullam, 236
Cavignari, Sir Louis, 310
Cavour, Count, 282–3
Cecil, Robert, Earl of Salisbury, 64, 67
——, Sir William, Lord Burleigh, 17, 18, 21, 32, 45, 48–9, 52, 58
Cellar-dwellings, 227
Central Board of Health, 257
Cessation, The (Ireland), 90
Cetewayo, Zulu King, 316
Cevennes, 130
Ceylon, 188, 191, 202
Chadwick, Edwin, 255
Chamberlain, Joseph, 246, 248–50, 260, 322, 326, 377
Chancellor and Justices of the Peace, 29; *and see* under Wolsey, More, Gardiner, Heath, Hatton, Bacon, Williams, Clarendon, Shaftesbury, Somers, Eldon.
Chancery, Court of, 96–7
Chandos Clause (First Reform Bill), 220–1
Charing Cross, 211
Charity Schools, 267
Charles I, 66, 68–94, 98–100, 165
—— II, 94, 95, 98, 101–12, 122, 165
—— V, Emperor, 8, 12–16, 20, 35, 39, 43
—— VI, ——, 125, 129, 130, 132–3, 138, 147
—— VIII (of France), 6–8, 10
—— IX (——), 19–21
—— X (——), 218
Charles II (of Spain), 105, 125–6
—— III (——), 159
—— IV (——), 197
—— XII (of Sweden), 138–9
—— Albert, Elector of Bavaria, 147
—— Edward. *See* "Pretender, the Young."
—— the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, 6
"*Charlies*" (London Watchmen), 218
Charlottetown Conference, 303

Charter House. See Carthusians.
Charters, forfeiture of, 111
Chartist Movement, 225, 227, 231–2, 245, 259, 263, 273
Chatalja Lines, 294
Chatham, First Earl of. *See* Pitt, William.
——, Second Earl of, 199
Checkweighmen, appointment of, 260
Chelmsford, Lord, 316
Chemical Dyes, 267
Chesapeake v. *Shannon* duel, 202
Cheyt Singh, Rajah of Benares, 174
Chichester, Sir Arthur, 26, 79
Child Labour, 208
Children in coal-mines, 260
—— in factories, 208, 258–9
Chili, 297
China, 62, 285, 291
Chippenham Election, 146
Cholera in England, 257
Christ Church (Oxford), 114
Christian IX (of Denmark), 285–6
Christian Brotherhood, the, 34
—— Socialists, 273
Christianity in France, abolished, 183
—— —— —— restored, 191
Christina, Queen of Spain, 276
Church Army, 257
—— Patronage, 96–7
—— Rates, 239
—— of England. *See* Anglican Church.
—— of Ireland, 185, 191, 223–5, 233, 238
Churchill, John, Duke of Marlborough, 116, 127–33, 135
Churchwardens, 60, 254
Cider tax, 161
Circumstantials, the, 97
Cisalpine Republic, the, 188
Citizen Force, Australia, 313
—— ——, Union of South Africa, 324; *and see* Volunteers.
Citizen Tippoo, 188
City of the Violated Treaty (Limerick), 122
Ciudad Rodrigo, capture of, 201
Civil List, 103, 112, 119, 142, 218
Civil Service Reform, 239
Clare Election, 217
Clarendon, First Earl. *See* Hyde, Edward.
——, Second Earl (James II's reign), 114
——, Earl of (Victoria's reign), 278
Clarendon Code, 101
Classes and Masses, 236
Classes, the (Presbyterian), 52
Classical Economists, the, 255–6
Clemency Canning, 309
Clement VII, Pope, 13, 14, 35–7, 66
Clergy Reserves, 299
Clerkenwell Gaol, 237
Cleves, Anne of, 14, 15
——, Duke of, 15
Clifford, Lord, 104–6
Clinton, General, 168
Clive, Robert, 157–8, 173
Clontarf, 227
"*Closure*" in House of Commons, 244
Clothing Towns (West Riding), 88
Coal, iron first smelted by, 209
—— Miners, 260
Coalition (Fox and North), 172, 175–6, 194
—— (Whigs and Peelites under Aberdeen), 230, 232, 234, 264, 278, 280
Coalition against France—
First (1793), 182
Second (1798), 189
Third (1805), 193
Fourth (1814), 202
Cobbett, William, 212, 219, 272
Cobden, Richard, 234–5, 244, 262–5
—— Treaty, 235
Cobdenism. *See* Free Imports.
Cobham, Lord, 64
Cockerton Judgment, the, 270
Code Napoléon, 192
Coffee-houses, importance of, 133
Coinage, debased, 57–8
——, new, 58, 123
Coke, Sir Edward, 66, 70–1
Colborne, Lord, 300
Colet, Dean, 34
Coligny, Admiral, 20–1
Collective bargaining, 260, 274

Collingwood, Admiral, 193
Colonial Premiers' Conference, 249, 325
—— History. *See* Various Colonies.
—— Policy, 298–327; *and see* Navigation Acts, system of the.
—— Secretariat restored, 311
—— System, old. *See* Navigation Acts, system of the.
—— ——, new, 298–327
—— Trade, 142
Columbus, Christopher, 9
Combination Laws, 273
Commander-in-chief, position of, 240
Commerce, George I on, 142
Commercial Classes, importance of, 123, 126, 136, 139, 141–2, 148, 151, 176, 179, 203, 209, 211
—— Depression, 211, 242, 256, 270
Commissions (Army), purchase forbidden, 240
Commissions of Array, 86
Committee of both Kingdoms, 91
—— of Privy Council for Education, 268
—— of Public Safety, 182–3
—— of Union and Progress, 293
Commons, House of, 30–3, 49, 52, 64–7, 69–79, 84, 86–8, 91–3, 95, 99, 104–10, 118–20, 123, 127, 131–2, 139, 141, 145–8, 151–2, 160–5, 170–2, 176, 191, 194, 209–21, 223–7, 229–30, 236, 238–40, 243–4, 248, 251, 257, 261, 263
Commonwealth of Australia, 312–13
—— of England (seventeenth century), 94–6, 144
Commune of Paris, 287
Comprehension Bill, 120
Compton, Bishop, 114
——, Sir Spencer, Lord Wilmington, 142, 146, 148
Compulsory Education, 268–9
Conciliation Boards, 274
Concord (U.S.A.), 167
Concordat of Napoleon and Pius VII, 191
Condition of England Question, 231
Conduct of the Allies (pamphlet), 133
Confederate States (America), 284, 303
Confederation of Germany, 283
—— of the Rhine, 195
Congo Free State, 320
Congo river, 320
Congregationalists, 268
Congress of the American Colonies, 167
Connaught, 79
Conscience Clause (Education Act of 1870), 269
Conscription in Europe, 265
Conservative Free Traders, 252
—— Liberals, 235
—— Trade Unionists, 275–6
Conservatives, 224, 226, 228–9, 235–6, 238, 240–1, 245–7, 250–1, 278
Conspiracy to Murder Bill, 234, 282
Constantinople, 2, 3, 277–9, 289, 294
Consulate, the, 189
Continental Liberals, 213, 233, 276–7, 283–4
—— System, 195, 202
Conventicles, 102
Convention Parliament, the (Charles II), 100–1
—— ——, the (William III), 116–17, 119
Convocation, 36, 38, 46, 120, 141, 233
Cook, Captain, 311, 313
Cooper, Anthony Ashley, Earl of Shaftesbury, 104–12
Co-operation, 272–3
Coote, Sir Eyre, 158, 174
Cope, Sir John, 148–9
Copyholder franchise, 210, 220
Corday, Charlotte, 183
Cordite division, 248
Corea, 292, 311
Corn Laws, 259, 261–4
Cornwall, 8, 32, 88, 90, 209
Cornwallis, Lord, 169, 177, 188, 190
Correction, House of, 60
Corruption of House of Commons, 107, 136, 141, 148, 151, 164–5, 170–2, 175, 177

Corunna, retreat to, 198
——, sack of, 25
Corvée, the, 179
Cotton-growing in the Empire, 267
Cotton industry, 207–8
Council, Royal, 59, 60, 63, 69, 78, 80, 85, 118–19, 136, 256
—— of Bengal, 173–4
—— of the Marches, 28
—— of the North, 28, 78
—— of State, 96–7, 99
—— of Viceroy of India, 309
—— of Wales, 28
Counter-Reformation, 49, 68, 69, 76
Country Party, 104, 106
County Board for Education, proposed, 268
County Councils (England), 247, 270
—— —— (Ireland), 249
County franchise, 220–1, 233, 236, 242, 245
Court of Appeal established, 240
Court Party, 104
Couza, Colonel Alexander, 288
Covenant, National Scottish, 83, 95
——, Solemn League and, 90
Covenanters, the, 109–10, 113, 121
Covent Garden Theatre, 263
Coventry, Sir John, 105
Coverdale's Bible, 38
Cowell's Law Dictionary, 67
Cowper, Lord, 244
Cowper-Temple clause, 269
Cracow, 298
Cradock, Admiral, 297
Craft-guilds, 41, 55–6, 58, 214
Craftsman, the, 143
Cranborne, Lord, 236. *See also* Lord Salisbury.
Cranfield, Lionel, Earl of Middlesex, 71
Cranmer, Archbishop, 36–7, 39–40, 43–4.
Crete, 293
Criminal Law, reform of, 312
Croatian Parliament, 248
Cromer, Lord, 319–20
Crompton, Samuel, 207
Cromwell, Oliver, 85, 89–101
——, Richard, 100
——, Thomas, 14, 15, 35–9
Cronjé, General, 323
Cross, Lord, 241
Crown Colonies, 298, 325
Crown Point Fort, 154–5
Crystal Palace, 234
Cuba, 159
Cumberland, William, Duke of (the Butcher), 149, 152, 154

Dalhousie, Lord, 306
Damaraland, 321
Danby, Earl of. *See* Osborne, Sir Thomas.
Dante, 2
Danton, 182–3
Danube, river, 193, 290
Danubian Principalities. *See* Eastern Question, Near.
Dardanelles, 298
Darien Scheme, 130–1
Darnel's case, 74
Darnley, Henry Stuart, Lord, 19
Daughter of Debate, the (Mary Queen of Scots), 19
Dauphin Louis, son of Louis XIV, 125–6
Davison, Secretary to Elizabeth, 50
Davitt, Michael, 243
Deal, 7
Death Duties, the, 248
Deccan, the, 156–8, 173
Declaration of Independence (U.S.A.), 168
—— of Indulgence (Charles II), 105–6
—— of —— (James II), 114–15
—— of Right, 117
—— on . . . the Articles (Charles I), 177
Defence of the Seven Sacraments, the, 13
Deists, the (eighteenth century), 221
Delagoa Bay, 315–16, 321
Delarey, General, 323–4
Delaware, 165
Delcassé, Th., 292
Delhi, 156, 197, 307–9
Democracy, Making of the, 223–53
Denmark, 72–4, 138, 191, 196, 285–6
Denominational Schools, 268–9

Denominational Training Colleges, 268, 271
Departmental System, 160, 164, 171
Depression in trade, 211, 242, 256, 270
Derby, 149
Derby, Lord. *See* Stanley, Lord.
Dervishes, the, 319–20
Derwentwater, Earl of. *See* Radcliffe, James.
Desmond, Earl of, 23, 26
Devon, 209
Devonshire, Duke of (George II's reign), 152
——, —— of (Victoria's reign). *See* Hartington, Lord.
Dewanni, the, 173
De Wet, General C., 323–5
de Witt, John. *See* Witt, John de.
Diamond Jubilee, 249
Dickens, Charles, 170
Digby, Lord, 70
Dilke, Sir Charles, 239–40
Direct Action, 275
Directory, the (France), 185, 187–8
Disestablishment proposals, 239, 247
—— of the Irish Church, 238
—— of the Welsh Church, 252–3
Dishing the Whigs, 236
Dispensing Power, the, 102, 113–14, 117
Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield, 228–9, 233–8, 241–3, 264, 266, 274, 288–90, 309–10, 317–18
Dissenters, 102–7, 110, 112, 114–15, 120, 131–3, 135–6, 142, 184, 216–17, 221–2, 244, 250, 267–9
Dissolution of the Monasteries, 34, 37–9, 56
Divine Right of Kings, 63–72, 113, 118
Dobrudscha, the, 290
Dock Strike of 1889, 250, 275
Domestic System, the, 35, 206
Dominion of Canada, 304, 313, 316. *See also* Canada.
—— of New Zealand, 314. *See also* New Zealand.
Dorislaus, Dr., 95
Dorset labourers transported, 215, 273
Dost Mohammed, 305
Douay, 48
Drake, Sir Francis, 21–2, 24–5, 32, 62
Drapier's Letters, the, 142
Drei Kaiser Bund, the, 288
Dresden, 15
Dryden, 111
Dual Alliance, the, 291
—— Control, the (Egypt), 318–20
Dublin, 7, 22, 83, 185, 227, 252–3
Duchess Sara. *See* Marlborough, Duchess of.
Dudley, Edmund (Henry VII's reign), 30
——, John, Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland (Edward VI's reign), 41–3, 51–8
——, Robert, Earl of Leicester (Elizabeth's reign), 19, 26, 32, 46
Dumas, Governor of Pondicherri, 157
Dunbar, 149
Duncan, Admiral, 187–8
Dundee, Viscount. *See* Graham John.
Dunkellin, Lord, 236
Dunkirk, 81, 100, 103, 172
Dunkirk House, 103
Dunning's Motion (George III's reign), 170
Dunraven, Lord, 249
Dunwich, 220
Dupleix, Governor of Pondicherri, 157, 188
Dupont, General, 198
Duquesne, Fort, 154
——, Viceroy of Canada, 154
Durban, 321, 323
Durham Cathedral, 48
——, Earl of. *See* Lambton, J. G.
——, Report on British North America, 301–3
——, See of, 42, 44
Dutch. *See* Netherlands.
Dutch favourites of William III, 123–4
—— Guards sent home (William III's), 124

East Anglia, 57, 88–9, 204, 209
Eastern Counties Association, 89

Eastern Question, the —
Far East, 285, 291–2, 311
Middle East, 285, 292, 305, 310
Near East, 276–81, 285, 288–91, 305
—— Roumelia, 290–1
—— Townships (Lower Canada), 259
East India Company (English), 62, 118, 156–8, 173–5, 177, 196–7, 298
—— —— —— (French), 156–8
Eastland Company, 61
Economic History, 54–62, 69–70, 78, 80, 204–9, 253, 276
"*Economical Reform*," 170–1
Edict of Nantes, 113
Edinburgh, 83, 86, 120–1, 144, 148–9
Edinburgh Letter (of Lord John Russell), 228
Educate our masters, we must, 237
Education, 247, 250, 253, 257, 267–72
——, Bills, 250
——, Elementary, 239, 267–9
——, Parliamentary Grants towards, 223, 268–9
—— Rate, 268–27
——, Secondary, 270
——, Technical, 270
——, University, 271–2
Edward V, 6
—— VI, 15, 16, 31, 38, 40–2, 58–9
—— VII, 240, 249–51, 286, 309
Egmont, Count, 20
Egypt, 188–9, 278, 292, 318–20
Eikon Basilike, 94
Elba, Isle of, 202
Elbe, river, 201, 321
Eldon, Lord. *See* Scott, John.
Elegy in a Country Churchyard, 155
"Eleven days" dropped from the calendar, 150
Eliot, Sir John, 73, 75, 77, 80
"Elizabethan Settlement" (of religion), 45–54, 76
Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV, 5.
——, daughter of James I, 68–9, 126
——, Queen, 17–33, 37, 43, 45–54, 58–64, 66, 156
Elizabeth, Russian Czarina, 152, 159
Ellenborough, Lord, 305
Elliot, General, defender of Gibraltar, 171
Elphinstone, General, 305
Emigration from England, 81, 165, 299, 303, 318
—— —— the Highlands, 150
—— —— Ireland, 230, 237; *and see* the Various Colonies.
Émigrés, 181, 184, 192
Empire (French), First, 192
—— ——, Second, 279
"*Empress of India*," Queen Victoria proclaimed, 309
Empsom, Richard, 30
Ems telegram, the, 286
Enclosures, 41, 55, 57, 205
Encyclopædists, the, 180
Ending or mending (of the House of Lords), 245
Engagement, the, 93, 95
Enghien, Duke of, 192
Enlightened Despots, the, 160
English Channel, 24, 193
Entente Cordiale, 276, 292, 320
Enthusiasm, meaning in eighteenth century, 221
Enumerated articles (Navigation Acts), 166
Enver Pasha, 295
Epirus, 290
Episcopacy, attempted introduction of into New England, 166
——, —— —— Scotland, 83, 109
—— in England. *See* Anglican Church.
Equal electoral districts, 210, 226, 245
Erasmus, 34
Eritrea, 321
Erskine, Reformer, 210–11
L'Esprit des Lois, 180
Essay on Man, Pope's, 161
Essay on the Principle of Population (Malthus), 255
Essex, Earl of (Elizabeth's reign), 25, 26
—— —— (Charles I's reign), 89–91
—— —— (Charles II's reign), 111

Eton, 270
Eucharistic Vestments, 41, 42, 46, 241
Eugene, Prince, 128–30, 133, 147
Evangelical Movement, the, 222
Evicted tenants, 243
Examination *v.* inspection of schools, 269
—— on whisky, 149
Exchequer Chamber, Court of, 67, 82
Excise Bill (1733), 144
Exclusion Bill, the, 109–11
Exhibition of 1851, 234
Expeditionary Force, British (1914), 296–7
Exploration, voyages of, 61–2

Factory children, education of, 268
—— legislation, 258–60, 266
—— system, 208, 214
Fairfax, Lord, 89, 90, 92–4, 100
Fair Trade Movement, 266
Falkland Isles, 297
——, Lord. *See* Cary, Lucius.
Family Compact, the, 145, 159, 163
—— —— (Canada), 299, 300
Fancy franchises, 236–7
Farmer George, 205
Fawkes, Guy, 65
Feeding of school children, 271
Fellahin, the, 320
Felton, John, 75
Fenians, the, 237–8, 303
Ferdinand, Czar of Bulgaria, 293
—— I, Emperor, 16
—— II, Emperor, 69–71, 74
——, King of Aragon, 6–11, 15
—— VII, King of Spain, 197
——, Prince of Brunswick, 154, 159
Ferrar, Nicholas, 80
Field of the Cloth of Gold, 12
Fifteen, the, 137, 203
Finality Jack, 226
Finchley, 149
Finisterre, Cape, 142
Finland, 196
"*Firm Government*," policy of, 249
First Consul, 189; and *see* Napoleon I.
Fiscal Reform, 142, 144, 177, 228, 260–7
Fisher, Bishop, 37
Fitzgerald, Lord Edward, 190
——, Vesey, 217
Fitzwilliam, Lord, 184, 186, 189
"*Five Dissenting Brethren*," 91
Five Knights' case, 74–5
Fixed duty (on corn), 228
Flanders, 7, 9, 61, 182; *and see* Belgium and Netherlands.
Flemish immigrants, 56
Fleury, Cardinal, 145
Flood, Reformer, 210
Florida, 153, 160, 172
Flying shuttle, invention of, 207
Food Taxes, 266, 327
Forced Loans, 74–5
Foreign competition, 266–7
—— mercenaries, 41, 57
—— merchants, 61
—— Missions, 222
Forests, Charles I and the, 81
Forster, Dorothy, 137
——, Thomas, 137
——, W. E., 243–4, 246, 269
Forty-Five, the, 147–50, 203
Forty-shilling freeholders, 220
—— —— (Ireland), 217
Forty-two Articles, 42
Fotheringhay Castle, 53
Four Ordinances, the, 92
Fourth Crusade, 2
Fox, C. J., 151, 165, 172, 175–8, 182, 184, 192, 194
——, Henry, Lord Holland, 151, 160, 165
Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, 76
Fox's Martyrs, 176
Fragment on Government, Bentham's, 211
France, 10, 13–17, 20, 26, 35, 41, 49, 58, 60, 74, 93–4, 98, 106–7, 122–3, 126–7, 134–5, 139, 147, 150–63, 168–9, 172–4, 178–204, 216, 223, 234–5, 240, 264–5, 276–88, 291–6, 311, 313, 318, 320
Franchise, Borough, 220–1, 233, 236–7, 245
——, Copyhold, 220
——, County, 220–1, 233, 236, 242, 245
——, Leasehold, 220

Franchise, lodger, 220
Francis I, Emperor, 150
—— II, Emperor, 181, 195
—— I, King of France, 12, 13, 15
—— Joseph, Emperor of Austria, 288, 293
——, Sir Philip, 164, 173–4
Franco-Scottish Alliance, 9, 18
Franklin, Benjamin, 168
Franz Ferdinand, Austrian Archduke, 295–6
Frederick III, Emperor, 6
—— II (the Great), King of Prussia, 134, 147, 140, 152, 154, 159, 176
—— III, King of Prussia and German Emperor, 284, 286
——, Elector Palatine, 68–70
—— Prince of Wales (son of George II), 143–6, 159, 160
—— William IV, King of Prussia, 284
Free Church of Scotland founded, 241
—— Education, 269
Free Imports, 264–5
Freedom of the Press, 272
Freemen, meaning of, 141, 152 *n.*
Free Trade, 142, 144, 177–8, 214–5, 228, 233, 235, 260–7, 302, 326–7
—— —— (Ireland), 191
—— —— Conservatives, 250
French Canadians. *See* Quebec.
—— Congo, 292
—— East India, 156–8
—— Revolution, 135, 179–89
Frere, Sir Bartle, 316–17
Friars, Observant, 37
Frobisher, Martin, 32
Frost, Chartist Leader, 227
Froude, Hurrell, 233
——, J. A., 316
Fundamentals, the, 97

Gabelle, 179
Gage, General, 167–8
Galway, Earl of. *See* Ruvigny.
Gama, Vasco da, 3
Gambetta, Léon, 287
Gambia, river, 314
Ganges, river, 307
Gardiner, Stephen, 35, 40–4
Garibaldi, G., 283
Garnet, Father, 65
Gatacre, General, 323
Gatton, 220
Gaunt, John of, 51
General Assembly (Scotland), 83
—— Order (Poor Law), 1847, 256
Geneva, 18
Genevan Version of the Bible, 76
George I, 136–42
—— II, 142–59
—— III, 150, 159–212, 225
—— IV, 172, 178, 193–5, 212–18, 225
—— V, 309
George, D. Lloyd, 251
Georgia, 142, 153
Geraldines (Kildare), 22–3
Germaine, Lord George, 168
German Empire founded, 287
—— Naval Expansion, 292–8
—— Zollverein, 264–6
Germany, 4, 12, 13, 15, 16, 68, 71, 83, 116, 128–9, 147–8, 152, 154, 159, 182, 189, 191, 195–6, 200, 266–7, 285–8, 290–8, 311, 313, 320–1, 324–7
Gibraltar, 129, 134
Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, 62
Gilbert's Unions, 254
Ginkel, General, 122
Gironde, Girondists, 181–3
Gladstone, W. E., 229–248, 264–5, 269, 274, 289, 317–19
Gladstonian Liberals, 247
Glasgow, 83, 148, 258
Glencoe, Massacre of, 121
"*Glorious First of June*" (1794), 184
Gloucester, 89, 267
—— Duke of, son of Queen Anne, 126
Godden v. *Hales*, case of, 113
Goddess of Reason, 183
Goderich, Lord, 216
Godly Party, the, 96
Godolphin, Lord, 118, 127, 130–1
Godoy, Spanish Minister, 197
Godwin v. *Fortescue*, case of, 65
"*Go for Gold*" (1832), 220
Gold Boxes, rain of, 152
Gold discoveries, 312
Golden Age of the English Agricultural Labourer, 55

Goldsmiths and Charles II, 105
Gondomar, Spanish Ambassador, 69
Good Parliament, the, 70
Gordon, Duke of, (William III's reign), 121
——, General, 244, 319
——, Lord George, 170
—— Riots, 170
Gorst, Sir Eldon, 320
Gough, General, 306
Grafton, Marquis of, 163–4
Graham, General, 200
——, James, Marquis of Montrose, 86, 91, 95, 121
——, John of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, 121
——, Sir James, 227
Grampound, 213
Granada, 7
Grand Alliance, 120, 127
—— Army (1812), 201
—— Remonstrance, 87
Grants in Aid (Education), 268–9
Granville, Lord. *See* Carteret, Lord.
Grasse, Admiral de, 169, 171
Grattan, Henry, 171, 186
Grattan's Parliament, 171, 185, 190
Gravelines, 12
Great Contract, the, 67
—— Council of Peers, 84
—— Fire of London, 104
—— Lakes (North America), 172
—— Peace (1815–54), 203
—— Secession of 1843, 241
—— Trek, 315
Greece, 218, 289–91, 293–5
Gregory XIII, Pope, 150
Grenville, George, 161–2, 166
——, Lord, 194–5
Gresham, Sir Thomas, 58
Grey, Earl, 184, 210–11, 218–24
——, Lady Catherine, 19, 64
——, —— Jane, 20, 42–3
——, —— Mary, 19
——, Lord Leonard, 22
——, Sir Edward, 295
Grindal, Archbishop, 51–2
Grocyn, Greek scholar, 34
Grote, historian, 211
Grouchy, General, 202
Guardians of the Poor, 254, 256
Guilds. *See* Craft-Guilds.
—— (French), 180
Guipuscoa, 125
Guise, Duke of, 21, 50
Guizot, French Minister, 276

Habeas Corpus, writ of, 74
Habitants, the (Quebec), 300–1
Hague, the, 95
Hales, Sir Edward, 113
Halifax, Earl of. *See* Savile, George.
Hamilton, Duke of, 83, 95
Hampden, John, 82, 84–5, 89
—— Clubs, 210
Hampden's case, 82
Hampton Court Conference, 64–5
—— —— Palace, 87
Hand-loom weavers, 208, 214
Hanover, 136, 138, 147–9, 152, 154, 192, 195, 202
——, House of, 126, 136–249
Hansa, German League of the, 61
Hapsburgs, 147 ; *and see* the various Emperors.
Harcourt, Sir William, 248
Hardinge, Lord, Governor-General of India, 305
Hardy, 184
Hargreaves, 207
Harley, Robert, Earl of Oxford, 128, 130–3, 135, 138–9
Harrison, General, 96
Harrow, 270
Hartington, Lord, later Duke of Devonshire, 242, 246–7, 249
Hastings, Lord (Moira), 304
——, Warren, 173–4, 177
Hatton, Sir Christopher, 32
Havannah, 159–60
Havelock, General, 308
Hawke, Admiral, 155
Hawkins, Sir John, 21, 24–5, 32
Hawley, General, 149
Heads of the Proposals, 93
Heath, Archbishop, 45
Hébert, French Atheist, 183
Heights of Abraham, 154
Heligoland, 321
Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I, 71, 73–4, 81
Henry IV, 27

Henry VII, 1, 4–11, 22, 27, 29, 30, 33, 35, 55, 61
—— VIII, 8, 10–15, 18, 22, 29–31, 34–40, 42–3, 57
—— ——, will of, 19, 64
—— IX (Henry Benedict Stuart, Cardinal York), 150
——, son of James I, 68
—— IV, King of Castile, 14
—— II, King of France, 15, 16, 18
—— IV —— —— 21, 25
Hepburn, James, Earl of Bothwell, 19, 48
Herbert, Admiral, Lord Torrington, 123
Herbert, George, 80
Heresy, punished by law, 39–42, 44
Herzegovina, 288, 290, 293
Hicks Pasha, 319
High Church Party, 52–3, 65, 72, 76–7, 79, 112–14, 119, 233, 241, 269
High Commission, Court of, 47, 52, 64, 67, 78–9, 85
—— ——, —— of (James II's reign), 114
High Court of Justice, 240
—— —— —— (Bengal), 173
Highlanders, 91, 109, 148–51
Highland Host, the, 109
Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII), 1
Hill, Abigail (Mrs. Masham) 131
——, Rowland, 226
Hindus, 156. *See* India.
Hispaniola, 98
Hoche, General, 187, 189
Hogarth, artist, 150
Hohenzollern, House of. *See* Prussia.
—— -Sigmaringen, Prince Leopold of, 286
Holbein, painter, 15
Holkar, Mahratta chief, 196–7
Holmby House, 92
Holy Alliance, the, 213
—— Club, the, 221
—— League, the, 10, 11
—— Places, the, 279
—— Roman Empire, the, 1, 195
—— Table, position of, 81
Holyrood Palace, 149
Home Rule Bill, First, 246
—— —— ——, Second, 248
Home Rule Bill, Third, 252–3
—— —— League, 238
—— —— Movement, 229, 241–53, 295
Hong Kong, 311
Hooker, Richard, 53–4, 76, 79
Hopton, Sir Ralph, 88–9
Horn, Count, 20
Hottentots, 314
Hough, President of Magdalen College, 114
Hounslow Heath, 115
Howard, Lord, of Effingham, 24–5
——, ——, of Escrick, 111
Howe, Joseph, of Nova Scotia, 302
——, Lord Admiral, 184, 187
Huddleston, Father, 112
Hudson river, 154, 168
—— ——, forts on, 130
Hudson's Bay Company, 304
—— —— Territory, 134, 153
Hughes, "Tom," 273
Huguenots, 21, 49, 74, 76, 113, 128, 130
—— (South Africa), 314
Hull, 88–9
Humbert, General, 190
Humble Petition and Advice, the, 99
Hume, Joseph, 215, 259
Hundred Days, the, 202
Hungary, 147, 278
Hunt, Henry, "Orator," 212
Huskisson, statesman, 213–16, 218, 227, 261, 264
Hussein, Khedive, 320
Hyde, Edward, Lord Clarendon, 85, 86, 88, 102–4
Hyde Park, 234, 236
Hyderabad, 188, 197
Hyder Ali, 173–4

Iceland, 9
Iconoclastes, 94
Impeachment, 70–1
Imperial Conference, 325
—— Federation, 249, 325–7
—— —— League, 246, 266, 318, 325–6
Imperialism, the New, 318, 324, 327
Imperialists, the, 71; *and see* Ferdinand II, Emperor.

Imperial Zollverein, 266, 326
Impey, Sir Elijah, 174
Impositions, 33, 67, 73, 81
Income Tax, 189, 227–8, 261, 264
Independent Labour Party, the, 275
Independents, the, 91–2, 96
India, 3, 62, 134–5, 150–2, 154, 156–8, 160, 163, 172–5, 177, 188–9, 196–7, 277, 295, 298, 304–11, 325
—— Bill (Fox), 172, 175
—— —— (Pitt), 177
——, markets of, 204
Indian Mutiny, 234, 307–9
Indian Troops at Malta (1878), 290
—— —— used in war of 1914, 296, 298, 320
Indies, East, 62
——, Spanish, 125
——, West, 98, 153, 159, 160, 170, 193
Indus, river, 305
Industrial Revolution, 203–9, 214, 261
Innocent III, Pope, 1
—— XII, Pope, 120
Inquisition, 20
Inspection of Schools, 269
Inspectors of Factories, 258–9
Instrument of Government, the, 97
Intercolonial Railway, 303
Intercursus Magnus, 7, 61
—— *Malus*, 9, 61
International Society of Working Men, the, 274
Inventions, Era of, 206–9
Inverness, 149
Invincibles, the, 244
Ireland, 6–8, 22–3, 25–6, 49, 78–9, 82, 90, 94, 114, 121, 124, 131, 142, 163, 171, 178, 185–7, 189–91, 216–17, 220, 223–30, 232, 233, 236–8, 240, 242–53, 291
Ireton, General, 93–4
Irish Brigade, the, 123, 148
—— Church Commission, 233
—— Council proposed, 246
—— Famine, 228–30, 232, 263
—— Home Government Association, 238
—— Land League, 243
Irish Land Purchase, 238; *and see* Statutes.
—— —— Question, 227
—— Nationalists, 217, 238, 251–3; *and see* Home Rule Movement.
—— Nationalist Volunteers, 252–3
—— Republican Party, 186
—— Tenant League, 232
—— University proposed, 240
—— Volunteers, 171
Iron Industry, 207, 209
Ironsides, the, 90–1
Isabella II of Castile, 6, 9
——, daughter of Philip II, 25, 51
Ismail, Khedive, 318–19
Italian immigrants, 56
—— lands of Spain, 125, 127
Italy, 2, 4, 11, 16, 128–9, 145, 187, 189, 191, 193, 202, 282–3, 285, 288, 292–5, 321

Jacobins, the, 182–3
Jacobites, the, 123, 135, 137–8, 143–4, 147–50, 161, 182, 203
Jamaica, 225
James I, 9, 22, 53–4, 63–72, 83, 165
—— II, 103, 105–27
—— III. *See* Pretender, Old.
—— IV of Scotland, 15
—— V of Scotland, 7, 8
—— VI of Scotland. *See* James I of England.
—— VII of Scotland. *See* James II of England.
—— VIII of Scotland. *See* Pretender, Old.
Jameson, Dr., 322
—— Raid, 291, 321
Japan, 291–2, 297, 311, 313
Jefferson, Thomas, 168
Jeffries, Judge, 113–14
Jellalabad, 305
Jerusalem, 279
Jervis, Sir John, Lord St. Vincent, 187
Jesuits, the, 22–3, 47, 49, 50, 108, 117
Jewel, Bishop, 51
Jews, the, 223
Johannesburg, 317, 321–2
John, Don of Austria, 23

Johnny upset the coach, 224
Jones, Ernest, Chartist, 227
Josephine, wife of Napoleon I, 199
Journeymen, 56
Joyce, Cornet, 92
Juan of Aragon, 8
Juana of Aragon, 8
Juarez, Resident of Mexico, 284
Juba river, East Africa, 321
Jubilee of 1887, 247
—— of 1897, 249
Judges, position of, 66–7, 78, 82, 93, 126
Julius II, 10, 11
July Monarchy (France), 231
—— Revolution (France), 218
Junot, Marshal, 198
Junta, Trade Union, 274
Junto, Whig, 119
Justices of the Peace, 29, 59, 60, 63, 214, 254, 258

Kandahar, 310
Kars, 281, 290
Kay, John, 207
Kay-Shuttleworth, Dr., 268
Keble, John, 233
Kenmure, Lord, 137
Kennington Common, 231
Kentish Petitioners, 127
—— Sir Byng, 88
Kenyon-Slaney clause, 270
Keppel, Admiral, 170
Ker, Robert, Earl of Somerset, 68
Ket, Robert, 41, 57
Khalifa (Abdullah), the, 319
Khartoum, 244, 319
Kiau-chau, 291, 297
Kiel Canal, 295
Kildare, Earl of, 6, 7, 22
Kilkenny, 245
Killala Bay, 190
Killing Home Rule by kindness, 247
Kimberley, 315, 323
King, Gregory, 204, 254
King's County, 23
King's Friends, 161–4
Kingsley, Charles, 273
Kirk o' Field, 19
—— of Scotland, 64, 83, 90, 95, 131, 241
Kitchener, Earl, 319, 323
Kitchin, Bishop, 46
Klosterseven, 154
Knighthood, Distraint of, 80
Knights of St. John, 188, 191
Knox, John, 18
Krügerism, 324
Krüger, President, 291, 317, 323–4

Labour Bureaus, 258
—— Leaders and State interference, 266
—— Party, 241, 250–1, 275–6
—— Representation Committee, 250, 275
Labourdonnais, Governor of Mauritius, 157
Labrador, 9, 61
"Ladies of the Bedchamber," 225
Lahore, 305
Laissez-faire, 255, 258, 260
Lake, General, 190, 197
Lally, Count, 158
Lambert, General, 99, 100
Lambton, J. G., Earl of Durham, 224–5, 301–2, 311
Lancashire cotton industry, 208
—— cotton operatives, 284
Lancaster, Joseph, 267
Lancastrian Constitutional Experiment, 27
—— Kings, 33
Land Purchase (Ireland), 246, 249
—— Tax, 144
—— Taxes (1909), 251
Lansdowne, Lord, 249
Lanyon, Sir Owen, 317
Latimer, Bishop, 44, 57
Latin Christians, 278
—— Empire of the East, 2
Laud, Archbishop, 54, 79–81, 85, 91, 96, 99
Lauderdale, Earl of, 104, 109
Laurier, Sir Wilfred, 325–7
Law of Devolution, 105
Lawrence, Sir Henry, 306, 308
——, Sir John, 306, 308
Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, the, 53
Lay Patronage (Kirk of Scotland), 241
League of the Three Emperors, the, 288

League of Schmalkalde, the, 14, 15
Leap in the Dark, a, 236
Leaps and Bounds of Trade, 264
Leasehold franchise, 220
Leaseholders, perpetual (Ireland), 243
Lecky, W. H., historian, 51
Leeds, 213, 220
Legatine Commission, the, 14
Legislative Assembly, the (France), 181
Leicester Abbey, 14
——, Earl of. *See* Dudley, Robert.
—— House, 143
Leicestershire, 204
Leighton, Alexander, 79
Leo X, Pope, 11
Leopold I, Emperor, 120, 124–5, 127
—— II, Emperor, 181
—— I, King of the Belgians, 226
—— II, King of the Belgians, 320
Letter to a Dissenter, 114
Letters of Junius, 164, 174
Levant, Islands of the, 294
Levée en masse (France), 182–3
Levellers, the, 93
Libel, law of, 115, 120, 161, 184
Liberal Conservatives, 235
—— Unionists, 246–9
Liberals, 224, 229, 234–5, 238, 241, 245–7, 249–51, 269, 270, 274, 276, 278, 293, 318, 322
——, Advanced, 275
Licensing Bill (1908), 251
Limerick, 122–3
Linacre, physician, 34
Lincoln, Earl of. *See* de la Pole, John.
Lincolnshire, 221
Linen warp, 209
Lisbon, 129, 199
Litany in English, 40
Little Gidding, 80
—— Parliament, 96
Liturgy in English, 41
Liverpool, Lord, 195–216
Livingstone, David, 320
Local Board of Health, 257
—— Government, 29, 60–1, 247–8, 257
—— —— Board, 257
Local Option, 247
Locke, John, 120
Locomotives, use of, 206
Lodger franchise, 237
Lollards, the, 33–4
Lombardo-Venetia, 282
Lombardy, 188, 282
London, 13, 43, 46, 48, 61, 79, 80, 86–90, 93, 95, 101, 111, 113, 116, 132–3, 149, 152–3, 170, 192, 209–10, 224, 274
—— Conference (Mary Queen of Scots), 47
—— —— (Dominion of Canada), 304
—— Dock Strike, 250, 275
—— Merchants, 95, 103, 152, 261
—— ——, Petition of the, 261
—— School Board, 271
Londonderry, 122
——, Lord. *See* Castlereagh.
Long Parliament, 84–102
—— —— of the Restoration, 101–8
Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, position of, 185, 191
Lords, House of, 30–1, 65, 88, 94, 97, 99, 100, 108, 110, 116–17, 132–3, 139, 143, 146, 151, 169, 176, 179, 191, 209, 211, 216–20, 223, 225–6, 229, 234–5, 237, 239, 244–5, 248, 250, 251–3
—— -Lieutenant of Counties, 29, 87, 240
Lords of the Articles (Scottish Parliament), 83
—— of the Congregation, 18
Lorraine, 125, 145
Louis XI (of France), 6
—— XII (——), 8, 10, 11
—— XIII (——), 74, 78
—— XIV (——), 103–13, 116, 119–20, 122–33, 137, 179, 203
—— XV (of France), 138, 145, 152, 179
—— XVI (——), 179–82
—— XVIII (——), 201–3
Louisa, sister of Isabella II Spain, 277
Louisbourg, 153–4, 160
Louisiana, 153, 160
Louis Philippe, 218, 223, 231, 276–8

Louvois, War Minister, 128
Lovel, Lord, 6, 27
Low Church Party, 47; *and see* Calvinists and Puritans.
—— Countries. *See* Netherlands.
Lowe, Robert, 236–7, 268
Lower Canada, 299–303
Loyola, Ignatius, 49
Ludlow, General, 94
Lundy, Colonel, 122
Luther, Martin, 3
Lutherans, 15, 16, 38–9
—— in London, 34
Luttrell, Colonel, 163
Luxemburg, 286, 296
Lyons, 183

Macadam, road-maker, 206
Macaulay, Lord, 221
Macdonald, Alexander, 275
——, Flora, 150
——, Sir John, 318, 326
Macdonalds of Glencoe, 121
Macedonia, 290–1, 293–4
Machinery (mechanical inventions), 207–9
MacIan of Glencoe, 121
Mackay, General, 121
Mackenzie, W. L., 300–1
MacLeods, 148
Macmahon, President, 316
Macnab, Sir Allan, 301
Madras, 156–7, 173–4, 267
Madrid, 98, 126, 129, 198–200
Magdalen College, Oxford, 11, 114
Magnum Concilium, 27
Mahdi, the, 318–19
Mahrattas, the, 156–7, 173–4, 188, 196–7, 304
Main, river, 285
Mainwaring, 76
Mainz, 182
Major-generals, the, 98–9
Majority Report (Poor Law Commission, 1909), 257
Malakoff, the, 281
Malays (of Cape Colony), 314
Malta, 188, 191–2, 290
——, Indian troops at, 310
Malthus, T. R., 255
Mamelukes, 188
Manchester, 206, 212, 220
—— Anti-Corn Law League. *See* Anti-Corn Law League.
——, Earl of, 90–91
"Manchester Martyrs," 237
Manchuria, 291–2
Manilla, 159–160
Manilla-Acapulco treasure-ship, 146
Manitoba, 304
Manning, Cardinal, 233
Manorial system, 54
Mansfield, Count, 72
Maoris, 313, 320
Mar, Earl of, 137
Marat, J. P., 183
Marches, Council of the, 28
Margaret of Anjou, 28
—— of Burgundy, 7
—— of Valois, 21
——, sister of Archduke Philip, 9
——, —— of Henry VIII, 8, 42
—— Theresa, wife of Emperor Leopold I, 125
Maria, mother of Emperor Leopold I, 125
—— Antonia, daughter of Emperor Leopold I, 125
—— Theresa, wife of Louis XIV, 125
—— ——, Empress, Queen of Hungary, 147, 150, 152, 181
Marie Antoinette, wife of Louis XVI, 181, 183
—— Louise, wife of Napoleon I, 199
Maritime Provinces, 299, 302–3
Marlborough, Duke of. *See* Churchill.
——, Duchess of, 130–1
Marmont, Marshal, 200
Martial law, 75
Martin Marprelate tracts, 52
Martinmas, killing of cattle at, 204
Martyr, Peter, 42
Mary I, 13, 16, 23, 31, 33, 38, 42–5, 58, 61
—— II, 107, 109, 115, 117
—— Queen of Scots, 17–20, 24, 42, 45, 47–51, 64
——, Duchess of Burgundy, 6
—— of Guise, wife of James V of Scotland, 15, 18

Mary of Modena, wife of James II, 107, 116
——, sister of Henry VIII, 11, 20, 42
—— "Tudor," daughter of Charles II, 137
Marx, Karl, 273–4
Maryland, 165
Masham, Colonel, 131
Massachusetts, 167
Massacre of Glencoe, 121
—— of St. Bartholomew, 21
Massena, Marshal, 189, 199–200
Master and Servant, law of, 273–4
Maurice, Elector of Saxony, 15, 16
——, F. D., Christian Socialist, 273
——, Prince of Orange, 23, 25
Mauritius, 202
Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico, 284
—— I (the "Penniless"), Emperor, 6–8, 11, 12
Mayflower, the, 81, 165
Maynooth Castle, 22
—— College, 227
Mayo, 190
Mazarin, Cardinal, 98, 100
Mechanical inventions, 206–8
Medical inspection of scholars, 271
—— Officers of Health, 257
Medina Sidonia, Duke of, 24
Medway, river, 104
Meer Jaffier, Nawab of Bengal, 158
Meerut, 307
Melbourne, Lord, 224–7, 263, 273, 301
Meliorism, 235
Menschikoff, Prince, 279
Mercantile System, 58, 142, 165, 214, 261
Mercers Company, 61
Merchant Adventurers, 61
—— Guild of Newcastle, 61
Methodists, the, 221
Methuen, Lord, 323
Metropolitical Visitation (by Laud), 80
Metternich, Prince, 199, 213
Meuse, river, 128
Mexico, 284
Miall proposes Disestablishment, 239
Middle classes, 223; *and see* Commercial classes.
Middlesex, 111
——, Earl of. *See* Cranfield, Lord.
——, freeholders of, 163
Midlands, opinion of, during Civil War, 88
——, rise of industries in, 209
Miguel, Dom, 218
Milan, 8, 10, 125
—— Decrees, 195
Militia, 29, 86–8, 103, 240
—— Bill (1852), 234
—— Ordinance, 88
Mill, James, 211
Mill, John Stuart, proposes Women's Suffrage, 237
Millenary petition, 64
Mills, spinning and weaving, 208
Milner, Sir Alfred, 322
Milton, John, 120
Miners' M.P.'s, 250
Minister for Education, 268
Minorca, 132, 134, 154, 160, 170, 172
Minority Report (Poor Law Commission, 1909), 257
Minto, Lord, 304
Minute Men, 167
Mirabeau, Count, 181
Mississippi Company (French), 139
——, river, 153, 160, 172
Mitchel, John, 232
Modena, 282
Mogul Empire, 156, 173, 306
Mohammed II, Sultan, 3
—— V, Sultan, 294
Mohawk Indians, 167
Moidart, 148
Moldavia, 281, 288
Molesworth, Philosophic Radical, 211
Moltke, von, Marshal, 284
Mompesson, Sir Giles, 70
Monarchy, popularity of under Victoria, 239–40
Monasteries, dissolution of the, 34, 37–9, 56
Mondego Bay, 198
Mongrel Parliament (Charles I), 99
Monitorial system, 267–8
Monk, General, 100

Monmouth, Duke of, 109–11, 113
Monopolies, 33, 63, 69–70
Monroe Doctrine, 213, 284
"*Monstrous regiment of women*," 18
Montague, Ambassador, 108
——, Charles (William III's reign), 119, 123
——, Richard (Charles I's reign), 76, 79
Montcalm, Marquis, 155–6
Montenegro, 288–90, 294
Montesquieu, 180
Montreal, 156
—— Conference, 304
Montrose, Marquis of, 86, 91–2, 95
Moore, Sir John, 198–9
Moorshedabad, 158
Mordaunt, Charles, Earl of Peterborough, 129
More, Sir Thomas, 30, 34–7, 55
Moreau, General, 189
Mornington, Lord, later Marquis Wellesley, 188, 196–7, 304
Morocco, 292, 320
Morton's fork, 29
Moscow, 201
"*Most favoured Nation clause*," 265
Mother Country, the, 300
Mounteagle, Lord, 65
Mountjoy, Lord, 26
Mousehold Heath, 57
Muir, 184
Mule, Crompton's, 207
Munster, 23, 26
Murad V, 289
Murat, Joachim, 197
Murray, Lord Chief Justice, 151
Muscovy Company, 61
Mutinies of the Navy (1797), 187
Mysore, 173–4, 188

Namur, 118, 129
Nana Sahib, 308
Nancy, 6
Napier, Sir Charles, 305
Naples, 145, 195, 213, 283
Napoleon I, 183, 187–9, 191–203, 211, 314
—— II. *See* Reichstadt, Duc de.
—— III, 230, 233–5, 264–5, 277–9, 281–8
Natal, 315, 323
National Convention, the (France), 182, 184
—— Covenant, the (Scotland), 83, 109
—— Debt, 123, 139, 178
Nationalists. *See* Irish Nationalist Party.
Nationality, growth of, in Europe, 276
National Liberal Federation, 247
—— Medical Service, 257
—— Political Union, 219
—— Society for the Education of the Poor, etc., 267–8
—— Strike, the, 275
Naval programme (1909), 251
Navarre, 11
——, Henry of. *See* Henry IV of France.
Navigation Acts, system of the, 103, 153, 162–3, 165–7
—— Ordinance, 95
Navy, Royal, 24, 81–2, 95, 98–9, 187; and *see* Sea-power.
Nawab of the Carnatic, 157
Negro slavery. *See* Slavery.
Neile, Bishop, 54
Nelson, Horatio, Lord, 186, 188, 191, 193
Netherlands, Austrian, 181–2, 185, 188
——, Dutch, 16, 21, 23, 25, 49, 60, 72, 81, 89, 95, 97, 103, 104, 106–7, 111, 116–18, 123, 127, 129, 132–4, 144, 148, 191, 195, 202, 215, 268, 286, 314
——, Spanish, 16, 21, 23, 25, 49, 60, 105, 125, 127–9, 134. *See also* Flanders and Belgium.
New Agriculture, 205
—— Amsterdam, 103
—— Brunswick, 299, 303–4
Newbury, 255
Newcastle, 61, 85, 88, 92
—— Committee on Education, 268
——, Duke of. *See* Pelham, Thomas.
——, Marquis of, 89, 90
—— Programme, 247
New England, 165–9
Newfoundland, 61, 134, 153, 292, 299, 302, 304

New Jersey, 165
—— Lanark, 258, 268
—— learning, 35
Newman, Cardinal, 233
Newmarket, 92, 111
New Model Army, 92–102
—— Orleans, 202
—— Poor Law. *See* Poor Law Amendment Act.
Newport, insurrection at, 227
Newry, 245
New South Wales, 311–12
Newspapers, increase of, 272
New Toryism, 164
—— Trades introduced, 60
—— Unionism, the, 250, 275
New World, 3
New York, 103, 165–6, 168
—— Zealand, 313–14, 320, 326
—— —— Volunteers, 320, 323
Ney, Marshal, 202
Niagara Fort, 154
Nice, 282
Nicholas I, Czar, 278–81
—— II, Czar, 297
Nicholson, General, 308
Niemen, river, 196
Nieuport, 296
Niger, river, 314
Nightingale, Florence, 280–1
Nile, river, 319
—— Irrigation Works, 320
Nine Hours' Day, 260
Nithsdale, Lord, 137
Nizam of the Deccan, 157
Nonconformists, 47, 53, 81, 101, 102; *and see* Calvinists, Dissenters, and Puritans.
Non-intervention, Canning's doctrine of, 213
Non-Jurors, the, 120
Non-provided Schools, 220–1
Non-resistance, doctrine of, 103, 107, 113, 131
—— Bill, 107
Nore, the, 187
No Rent Campaign, 243
Norfolk, Duke of (Henry VIII's reign), 39, 40
——, —— (Elizabeth's reign), 48–9
North, Lord, 164–73, 194
Northampton, 244
North Briton, The, 161
Northern Alliance, Pitt's proposal for a, 163
—— Counties favour Charles I, 88
—— ——, rise of industries in, 209
Northern Star, the, 231
North German Confederation, 285
North Sea, the, 295–7
Northumberland, 84
——, Duke of (Edward's VI's reign). *See* Dudley, John.
——, —— (Elizabeth's reign), 48
North-west Territories, 304
Norwich, 57
No taxation without representation, 167
Nottingham, 88, 219
——, Earl of, 128, 133
Nottinghamshire, Royalist stronghold, 88
Nova Scotia, 134, 153, 299, 302–4
Noy, Attorney-General, 79, 81
Number 45, 161
Nuncomar, 173–4

Oastler, Richard, 258
Oates, Titus, 107–8, 113
Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, 119
O'Brien, Smith, 232
Obstruction in the House of Commons, 243–4
Occasional Conformity, 132, 133, 216
O'Connell, Daniel, 216–17, 223–4, 227, 232, 300
O'Connell's "Tail," 224
O'Connor, Feargus, 227, 231
Ogden, trade union leader, 273
Oglethorpe, Bishop, 45
Ohio, river, 153–4
Old Age Pensions, 258
—— Colonial System. *See* Navigation Acts, system of the.
—— Whigs, 162
Oldenburg, Duchy of, 201
Old Learning, the, 42
—— Sarum, 220
Olive Branch Petition, the, 168
One Man One Vote, 245
One Vote One Value, 226, 245
O'Neill, Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, 26

O'Neill, Shane, 23, 25
O'Neills, the, 23
Ontario, 299; *and see* Upper Canada.
Opposition, secession of the, 211
Orange Free State, 315, 322–3
—— Lodges, Orangemen, 186
——, Maurice of Nassau, Prince of, 23, 25
—— River, 315
——, William I (or the Silent) of Nassau, Prince of, 20, 23, 50
——, William III, Prince of Orange. *See* William III of England.
"Orator" Hunt. *See* Hunt, Henry.
Orders in Council, 195, 202
Ordinances of Oliver Cromwell, 97
Orford, Earl of. *See* Walpole, Sir Robert.
Original Contract, The, between king and people, 117. *See also* Social Contract Theory.
Orinoco River, 26
Orleans, Philip of, Regent of France, 145
Ormonde, Duke of (Charles I's reign), 90
——, —— (Anne's reign), 133
Ornaments Rubric, 52, 241
Orsini, Felice, 235, 282
Orthodox Greek Church, 278–9
Osborne Judgment, the, 275
Osborne, Sir Thomas, Lord Danby, 106–9, 115, 117–18
Osman Pasha, 289
Oudh, 173–4, 306
Out-door Relief, 255–6
Outlanders, the, 317–18, 321–2
Outram, General, 308
Overbury, Sir Thomas, 68
Overseers of the Poor, 60, 254
Owen, Robert, 258–60, 268, 272
Oxford, 88–90, 92, 104, 110
——, Earl of. *See* Harley, Robert.
——, University of, 239, 271

Pacific Ocean, 22
Pack-horses, use of, 206
Packing of Parliament, 31, 32, 43, 98, 111, 115
Paget, Secretary of Henry VIII, 40
Paita, sacking of, 146
Palatinate, the, 69, 71, 72, 80
Pale, the (Ireland), 7
Palmer, 184
Palmerston, Lord, 229–30, 233–5, 263, 276–8, 280–2, 284, 286, 288, 311
Pamirs, the, 310
Pampeluna, 201
Panama, 25, 130, 139, 145–6
Papacy, the, 1–3, 10–15, 17, 18, 20, 34, 49, 51, 76, 81, 120, 191, 233
Paper duty, 235, 272
Papineau, L. J., 300
Papists, 24, 30, 46–51, 63, 65, 66, 73, 76, 78, 81, 83, 97, 101–7, 113–5, 120, 124, 126, 135, 137, 165, 170, 176, 185, 186, 233
—— (Ireland), 22, 23, 26, 78, 94, 121–2, 186, 190, 216, 223, 227
—— (Scotland), 15, 19
Paris, 12, 21, 130, 181, 186, 203, 287, 296
Parish Councils created, 248
—— Schools proposed, 268
Parker, Archbishop, 46, 51, 52
——, Bishop of Oxford, 115
——, Mutineer, 187
Parkes, Sir Harry, 313
Parliament, 4, 5, 12, 16, 30, 31, 35–8, 41, 43–5, 49, 53, 57, 59, 63, 65–78, 80, 82–105, 107–20, 123–7, 130–1, 138–41, 144, 148, 151, 162, 167, 170–1, 175, 184, 191, 210, 223–7, 235–6, 241–2, 251–3, 262, 268, 273, 304, 309, 313, 316, 324
—— (Ireland), 7, 22, 78, 83, 122, 171, 178, 185–6, 190, 238, 253
—— (Scotland), 83, 114, 121, 130–1
Parliamentarians, 88, 89; *and see* Civil War.
Parliamentary Corruption, 107, 136, 141, 148, 151, 164–5, 170–2, 175, 177
—— —— (Ireland), 185, 190
—— Reform, 97–9, 170, 177, 179, 184, 209–21, 226, 230, 233, 235–7
Parma, 138, 191, 282
——, Alexander Farnese, Prince of, 23–5
Parnell, C. S., 243–4, 247–8

Parsons, R., Jesuit missionary, 22, 49, 50
Parties, rise of, 86, 104
Party machine, Liberal, 247
Patiala, 308
Patriot King, On the Idea of a, pamphlet, 143, 160
Patriots, the, 143
Paul I, Czar of Russia, 189, 191
—— III, Pope, 15
—— IV, Pope, 17, 45
Pauper apprentices, 208, 214, 258
—— children, education of, 268
Paupers, statistics as to, 254
Paxton, Sir J., 234
Payment for results, 268
—— of M.P.'s, 226, 276
Peace Party, the, 234
Peace with Honour, 290
Peasant proprietors (Ireland), 243, 246, 249. *See also* Land-purchase.
Peasants' Revolt, the, 3
Peasantry of England, 205
—— of Ireland, 229, 232. *See also* Land Laws.
Peel, Sir Robert, the elder, 208
——, —— ——, the younger, Prime Minister, 213, 216–18, 224–33, 241, 260–4, 312
Peelites, the, 230, 233–5
Peerage Bill, the, 139
Peishwah, the, 196, 304
Pekin, 311
Pelham, Henry, Prime Minister, 143, 146–8, 150–1
——, Thomas, Duke of Newcastle, 143, 146–8, 150–9, 161–2
Penn, Admiral, 98
Pennsylvania, 165
Penny Post, the, 226
Penry, pamphleteer, 52
People's Charter, 225–6, 231; *and see* Chartist Movement.
Perceval, Spencer, Prime Minister, 194–5
Perron, French adventurer, 197
Persia, 285, 305, 310
Persian Gulf, 298, 310
Perpetuation Bill, 95–6
Perpetual Motion (Charles I), 92
Personal Government of Charles I, 77–84
Peru, 146
Peter the Great, Czar of Russia, 139
—— (Karageorgevitch), King of Serbia, 294–5
Peterborough, Earl of. *See* Mordaunt, Charles.
Peterloo Massacre, 212
Petition of Right, the, 75–6, 78
Petitioners, the, 110
Petrarch, Italian poet, 2
Philadelphia, 166, 168
——, Congress at, 167–8
Philip II of Spain, 16–18, 20–6, 43, 47, 50
—— III of Spain, 69
—— V, 126, 129, 132–3, 138, 145
Philip, the Archduke, 6–9
——, Duke of Orleans, Regent for Louis XV, 138
Philippines, the, 159
Philosophic Radicals, the, 211
Phœnix Park Murders, the, 244, 247–8
Physical force Chartists, 227
Pichegru, General, 184
Picketing during strikes, 250, 273
Piedmont, 191, 293
Pilgrim Fathers, the, 81, 165
Pindarees, 304
Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham, 134, 143, 148, 149, 151–63, 165, 167–9, 171–2, 176, 203, 209, 210
——, ——, the younger, 171–2, 175–94, 209–11, 214, 216, 220–1, 228
Pittsburg, 154
Pius V, Pope, 48
—— VII, Pope, 191
—— IX, Pope, 233, 283
Place Bill, the (William III's reign), 119
Place, Francis, Radical leader, 211, 215, 219
Plague, the (1665), 104
Plantations, the (America). *See* American Colonies.
—— (Ireland), 23, 26, 79
Plimsoll Line, the, 242
Plots (*see also* Rebellions)—
Babington and Ballards, 24, 50
Bye Plot, 64, 68
Cato Street Conspiracy, 212
Fenwick's Plot (1696), 124

Plots (*cont.*)—
Gunpowder Plot, 65–6
Jesuit plots (1580). *See* Throgmorton's Plot.
Main Plot, 64
Orsini's Plot, 235, 282
Plots against Oliver Cromwell, 100
Plots against Napoleon I, 192
Popish Plot, 108–10
Ridolphi's Plot, 49
Rye-House Plot, 111
Throgmorton's Plot, 50
Venner's Plot, 101
Vowell and Gerard's Plot, 97
Whig Plot of 1682, 111
Plunket, Sir Horace, 249
Plural Voting Bill, 250
Plymouth, 24, 61, 88, 89
Pocket-boroughs, 177–8, 210
Poland, 181, 183, 201, 284–5, 297
Pole, Cardinal, 44, 45
Pole, de la, Edmund, Duke of Suffolk, 5, 9
——, ——, John, Earl of Lincoln, 5, 6, 9
Police force established, 218
Political Revolution, the, 209–21
—— Unions, the, 219
Pondicherri, 156–8, 160
Ponet, Bishop, 42
Poonah, 196, 304
Poor Law Board, 257
—— —— Commission (1909), 256–7
—— ——, Committees on the, 255
—— —— Officials, 256
—— —— Union. *See* Union of Parishes.
—— Rates, 59, 254–6
Pope, Alexander, poet, 161
Popes, the. *See* Hildebrand, Innocent III, Innocent XII, Paul III, Paul IV, Pius V, Pius VII, Pius IX, Sixtus V.
Population of England (1688–1801), 204
Port Arthur, 291
Porteous, Captain, 144
Port Jackson, 311
Portland, Duke of, 172, 184, 194
Porto Bello, 146
Portugal, 25, 128, 129, 197–201, 213, 218, 316
Portuguese Africa, 321
Post-nati, the, 66
Potato disease, 228
—— famine in Ireland, 263
Pottery manufacture, improvements in, 209
Pot-wallers of Taunton, 220
Poulett Thomson, Charles, Lord Sydenham, 302
Power-loom introduced, 208
Poynings, Sir Edward, 7
Poynings' Law, 7, 171
Prayer Book (Edward VI), First, 41
—— —— ——, Second, 42, 45
—— —— (Elizabeth), 31, 45–6, 51–2, 64, 85
—— —— (Charles I), for Scotland, 83
—— —— (Charles II), 102, 241
Predestination, 76–7
Predominant Partner, the, 248
Preferential Duties, 250
—— Tariffs (Colonial), 326
Premier. *See* Prime Minister, position of the.
'*Prentice boys of Derry*, 122
Presbyterian Convention (1689), 120
Presbyterians, 47, 49, 51, 53, 64–5, 83, 91–3, 100–2, 109–10; *and see* Kirk of Scotland.
—— (Ireland), 185, 190
Press, influence of the, 170, 212
Preston, 220
Pretender, the Old, 115, 126–7, 135–8
——, the Young, 147–50
Pretoria, 324
Prices, rise in, 57
Pride, Colonel, 93
Prime Minister, position of the, 136, 139–43, 148, 160–1, 164, 170, 172, 175–6, 191
Primer, the, in English, 40
Prince Consort. *See* Albert, Prince Consort.
Prince Edward Island, 299, 303–4
Prior, Matthew, 132
Pritchard, Lord Mayor of London, 111
Privy Council, the, 7, 16, 27, 28, 66, 108, 110
Pro-Boers, the, 322

Proclamation to India (by Queen Victoria), 309
Property Qualification for M.P.'s, 132, 226, 239
Prophesyings, 52
Protection, Protectionists, 229, 230, 233, 235, 242, 249, 261–7. *See also* Mercantile System.
—— in the Colonies, 302, 312, 318, 326–7
Protectorate, the, of Cromwell, 97–100
—— of Somerset. *See* Seymour, Edward.
—— of Northumberland. *See* Dudley, John.
Protestant agitators, 241
—— Association, the, 170
—— Refugees, 61
——, use of word by Elizabeth, 51
——, use of word by Laud, 81
Protestants, 120. *See also* Calvinists, Nonconformists, Presbyterians, Puritans.
—— of Ireland, 122, 131, 186, 189–91, 240, 246, 252–3
Protestation of the House of Commons, the, 70
Provided Schools, 269
Prussia, 134, 147, 159, 163, 168, 181–3, 191, 195–6, 201–3, 213, 234, 240, 279, 282–8, 290–1, 296
Prynne, W., 81
Publication of Debates (in Parliament), 169
Public Health, 253, 257–8
—— Schools, 270
Pulteney, Earl of Bath, 139, 143, 146
Punjab, the, 304–8
Pupil Teacher Centres, 270
—— —— System, 268, 270
Puritan Revolution, the, 84–101
Puritans, the, 32, 46, 48, 51–4, 64–5, 72, 75–89, 91, 97, 101–3, 165
Pusey, Dr., 233
Putney, 14
Pym, John, 71, 77, 80, 83–91
Pyrenees, 201

Quadruple Alliance, the (1718), 138
—— —— (1814), 202–3, 213
Quakers, the, 165, 267
Quarter Sessions, 29, 247, 268
Quebec, 154–6, 299, 302
——, Conference at, 304
Queen of Hearts, the, 69
Queen's County, 23
Queensland, 311–12
Queen's Scholarships, 268
Quiberon Bay Expedition, 184

"Rabbling" of the Scottish Episcopal Clergy, 121
Race of Castlebar, 190
Radcliffe, James, Earl of Derwentwater, 137
Radicals, 210–12, 219, 221, 223, 225–6, 245, 249, 272
Raglan, Lord, 280
Raikes, Robert, 267
Railways, 206
Rainham, 204
Raleigh, Sir Walter, 25, 32, 62, 64, 68
Rand, the, 317
Ranjit Singh, 305
Real Presence, the, 39
Rebellions (in chronological order)—
Peasants' Revolt, 54
Lovel's Rebellion, 6, 27
Simnel's Rebellion, 6, 27
Warbeck's Rebellion, 7–8
Cornish Rising against Henry VII, 8
Kildare's Rebellion against Henry VIII, 22
Pilgrimage of Grace, 38–9
Western Rebellion against Edward VI, 41
East Anglian, or Ket's Rebellion, 41, 57
Wyatt's Rebellion against Mary I, 43
Lords of the Congregation against Mary of Guise, 18
Murray's Rebellion against Mary Stuart, 19
Rising of the North, 48
Revolt of the Netherlands, 20
Shane O'Neill's Rebellion against Elizabeth, 26
Desmond's first Rebellion in Munster, 23

Rebellions (*cont.*)—
Hugh O'Neill's Rebellion against Elizabeth, 26
Desmond's second Rebellion against Elizabeth, 26
Tyrone and Tyrconnell's Rebellion against James I, 26
Irish Rebellion of 1641, 79, 86
The Bishops' Wars (Scotland), 83, 84
The Great Rebellion against Charles I, 61, 88,–101, 165
Penruddock's Rising against Oliver Cromwell, 98
Cheshire Rising against the Army, 100
The Covenanters against Charles II, 110
Argyll's Rebellion against James II, 113
Monmouth's Rebellion against Charles II, 113
Invasion of William of Orange, 116
Jacobite Rebellion against William III, 121–3
The 'Fifteen, 137
The 'Forty-five, 148–50
Rebellion of the American Colonists against George III, 165–70
The French Revolution, 182
The Risings in La Vendée, etc., against the French Republic, 182–3
The Naval Mutinies, 187
The Irish Rebellion of 1798, 190
The Greek Revolt, 216
The French Revolution of 1830, 218, 277
Rebellion in Canada (1837), 225, 300–1
The Chartist Insurrection at Newport (Mon.), 1839, 227
The Continental Revolutions of 1848, 230–1, 233, 277–8
"Young Ireland" Rebellion in 1848, 232, 238
Indian Mutiny, 282, 306–9
The Taiping Rebellion in China, 319
Rebellions (*cont.*)—
The Italian Revolution, 282–3
The War of Secession in the United States, 237, 240, 284
The Polish Rebellion against Russia, 284–5
Riel's Rebellion in Manitoba, 304
Revolt of the Balkan Christians against Turkey, 242, 288–90
Revolt of the Boers, 317
Rising of Arabi Pasha in Egypt, 318
Rising of the Mahdi in the Soudan, 318–19
The Boxer Rising in China, 291
Young Turk Rebellion, 293–4
The Back-veldt Boer Rising (1914), 324–5
Reciprocity Policy, 265, 326–7
—— between Canada and the United States, 302, 303, 326
—— between Colonies, 318, 326–7
Recusants. *See* Papists.
Redan, the, 281
Redistribution of seats, 220, 237, 245
Redoubtable, the, 193
Red Sea, the, 310, 321
Red Terror, the, 182–3
Reflections on the French Revolution, Burke's, 153
Reform Bill struggle, 218–21
—— Demonstrations (1867), 236
——, Economical, 170–1
——, Parliamentary. *See* Parliamentary Reform.
Reformation, the, in England, 31, 33–54
—— in Ireland 22, 23
—— in Scotland, 9, 18
Regency, the, 195–212
—— Bill (1765), 162
—— —— (1788), 178
Regent, the Prince. *See* George IV.
Regnans in Excelsis (Papal Bull), 41
Regulation of Wages by J.P.'s, 59, 214, 215
Reichstadt, Duke of, 199, 203
Reign of Terror (France), 183
—— —— (Ireland), 190
Religious instruction in schools, 268, 270

Religious Revolution (sixteenth century). *See* Reformation.
—— —— (eighteenth century), 221
—— tests abolished at Oxford and Cambridge, 239
Remodelling of the Corporations, 111, 115
Renaissance, the, 1–4
—— in England, 34
Rent Court established, 243
Repeal of the Corn Laws, 229, 261–4
—— of the Union of 1800, 217, 223–4, 227, 232; *and see* Home Rule Movement.
Reporting, freedom of, 170
Representation by Population (Canada), 303
Republic. *See* Commonwealth of England.
Republican Movement in Canada, 299–300
—— —— in England (nineteenth century), 239–40
—— —— in France, 182, 287
—— —— in Ireland, 186
Responsible Government (in England), 87, 103, 108, 124–6
—— —— (in the Colonies), 166, 302, 312, 314–16, 318, 323–4
—— —— (in Ireland), 185
Restoration, the, 94, 101, 165, 253
Retaliation v. *Free Imports*, 327
Revised Code, the (education), 268
Revolution, the American, 165–70
——, the English, of 1688, 116–17, 183, 203–4, 253–4
——, the French, of 1789, 135, 178–203, 210, 214, 222
—— —— of 1830, 218, 277
—— —— of 1848, 231, 277–8, 283–4
Rhé, Isle of, 74
Rhine River, 128, 152, 189, 195, 283
Rhode Island, 168
Rhodes, Cecil, 322–3
Rhodesia, 321–2, 324
Richard II, 27
—— III, 5, 29, 71
Richelieu, Cardinal, 76, 78
Richmond, Duke of, 168–70, 210
Rick-burnings, 212
Ridley, Bishop, 42, 44
Riel, Louis, 304
Right of Search, 145, 195
Ripon, Lord, 227
Rizzio, David, 19
Roads improved, 206
Roberts, Sir Frederick S., later Earl Roberts, 310, 323
Robespierre, Maximilien, 182–4
Robinson, Thomas, diplomatist, 151
Rochdale Pioneers, the, 273
Rochelle, La, 74–5
Rochester, Earl of (James I's reign). *See* Ker, Robert.
—— —— (Charles II's reign), 112, 114, 128
Rochfort, 203
Rockingham, Marquis of, 162, 171–2
Rodney, Admiral, 170–2
Rohilcund, 173
Rolle's case, 77
Romagna, the, 282
Roman Catholic Emancipation, 176, 186, 190–1, 193–5, 213, 216–17
—— —— Priesthood, 48, 217
—— —— Relief, 170, 176, 185–6
Romanists, Roman Catholics. *See* Papists *and* Recusancy Laws.
Rome, 2, 13, 38, 106, 283
Romford, 245
Romilly, Sir Samuel, 312
Roon, General von, 284
Root and Branch Bill, 86
Rosebery, Lord, 246, 248, 251
Rotation of crops, 204–6
Rotten Boroughs, 210, 220
Roumania, 281, 288–90, 295, 297
Rousseau, 99, 135, 180
Rovuma, river (East Africa), 321
Royalists, 86–8, 94, 98, 101, 103; and see *Civil War*, and Court Party.
——, French, 287; and see *Émigrés*.
Royal Commissions on Canada, 300–1
—— Jubilee, 247
—— Lancasterian Society, 267

Royal Marriages, important English (in chronological order)—
Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, 5
Henry VII's son Arthur and Catherine of Aragon—*the Spanish Marriage*, 8
—— —— daughter Margaret and James IV of Scotland—*the Scottish Marriage*, 8, 9
Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon—*the Second Spanish Marriage*, 9, 10, 35
Mary I and Philip II of Spain—*the Third Spanish Marriage*, 16, 43, 45
Elizabeth, suitors of, 17
Mary Queen of Scots and Darnley, 19
Charles I's suggested marriage with the Infanta—*the Spanish Match*, 68–9, 71, 76
Elizabeth, daughter of James I, and Frederick, Elector Palatine—*the Protestant Marriage*, 68
Charles I and Henrietta Maria—*the French Marriage*, 71, 73–4, 76
William III and Mary, daughter of James II, 107
Sophia, granddaughter of James I, and the Elector of Hanover, 126
—— Marriages, important Foreign—
Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, 6, 7
Maximilian the Penniless and Mary of Burgundy, 6
Archduke Philip and Juana, daughter of Ferdinand, 8
Louis XIV and Maria Theresa, 124
Leopold I and Margaret Theresa, 124
Isabella II of Spain, 276–7
—— *Martyr*, 94
—— Ministers, appointment of, 74
—— Proclamations, 67
—— Society, 112
Royal Sovereign, 193
Royal Supremacy, 37, 42, 43, 45, 47. *See also* High Commission, Court of.
—— Veto, 119
—— Warrant, use of, 240
Rule Britannia, song, 143
Rump, the, 94–6, 100
Rupert, Prince, 89, 90, 106
Russell, Admiral, 119
——, Lord (Charles II's reign), 111
——, Lord John, later Earl Russell, 211, 213, 216–18, 221, 224, 226, 228–35, 237, 263–4, 278, 302
——, War Correspondent, 234, 280
Russia, 139, 152, 159, 163, 168, 181, 183, 189, 191, 193, 195, 200, 201, 213, 216, 240, 242, 264, 277–81, 284–98, 305, 310–11
Russian Company, 61
Ruvigny, Earl of Galway, 129, 130

Sabat Jung (Clive), 157
Sacheverell, Dr., 131–2
Sadler, Michael, 258
Sakhalin, 292
Salem, 167
Salic Law, 285
Salisbury, 98
——, Earl of (James I's reign). *See* Cecil, Sir Robert.
——, Lord (formerly Cranborne), 236, 245–9, 266, 319
Salonica, 293
Salvation Army, 257
Samoa, 314
Sancroft, Archbishop, 115, 119, 120
Sandwich, Earl of, 161
Sandys, Bishop, 51
Sanitation of towns, 227
San Juan d'Ulloa, 21
San Sebastian, 201
Santa Cruz, Spanish Admiral, 24
Sarajevo, 295
Saravia, Dutch theologian, 53
Sardinia, 134, 187, 279, 282
Sarsfield, Patrick, 122–3
Saskatchewan, 304
Savile, George, Earl of Halifax, 109–14
Savoy, 282
—— Conference, 102

Savoy, Duke of, 100, 134
Saxe, Marshal, 148
Saxony, 147
Scharnhorst, Russian Statesman, 196
Scheldt, river, 182
Schleswig-Holstein, 285
Schomberg, Marshal, 122
Schmalkalde, League of, 14, 15
School Boards, 257, 269
Scientific Tariffs, 327
Scone, 95
Scotland, 7, 17, 18, 20, 25, 35, 41, 49, 57–8, 64, 66, 82–4, 86, 94–5, 97, 100, 104, 109, 113–14, 130–1, 137–8, 148–9, 220, 237, 267
——, Union with England, 35, 66, 97, 131
Scots, 83–6, 90–4, 130, 165. *See also* Scotland.
Scott, John, Lord Eldon, 195, 216–17
Scottish Militia Bill, 119
Scramble for Africa, the, 320
Scutari, 281
Sea power, influence of, 25, 134, 152–3, 155, 168, 170, 186–7, 192–3, 195–9, 202, 247–8, 251, 291, 295, 297–8, 313
Second Empire, the (France), 277–8
Secretary of State for War, position of, 240
Sectaries, the, 91
Seditious Meetings Bill (Pitt's), 185
Sejanus (Buckingham), 73
Selborne, Lord, 246
Selden, John, lawyer, 71
Self-denying Ordinance, 91
Self-governing Colonies, 295, 297; *and see* Separate Colonies.
Self-government, Colonial. *See* Responsible Government in the Colonies.
Seminary priests, 47–9
Senior, Nassau (economist), 260
Separatists, 46–7, 51, 53, 81
Sepoys, 157, 307
September Massacres, the, 182
Serbia, 288–91, 293–6
Seven Bishops, trial of the, 115
Seymour, Edward, Duke of Somerset, Protector, 16, 40–2, 57–8
Seymour, Jane, 14, 38
——, Lord, of Sudeley, 41
——, William, husband of Arabella Stuart, 64
Shaftesbury, Earl of (Charles II's reign). *See* Cooper, Anthony Ashley.
—— —— (Victoria's reign). *See* Ashley, Lord.
Shah Shoojah, 305
Shannon, duel with the *Chesapeake*, 202
Shannon, passage of, 122
Shantung, 291
Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, 110
Sheerness, 116
Sheffield manufacturers and Canada, 302
——, Trade Union outrages at, 241, 274
Shepstone, Sir Theophilus, 316–17
Shelburne, Lord, 172
Sheridan, R. B., dramatist and politician, 177
Ship-money, 81–2
Shooting Niagara, 236
Short Parliament (Charles I), 83–4
—— Parliaments, the three (Charles II), 108–10
Shrewsbury, Duke of, 135
Sibbes, Richard, 81
Sibthorpe, 76
Sicily, 7, 134, 138, 145, 283
Sidmouth, Lord. *See* Addington.
Sidney, Algernon, 111
——, Lord Deputy of Ireland, 23
Sieges—
Acre, 189
Arcot, 157
Barcelona, 129
Boulogne, 15, 40
Bristol, 89
Calais, 16
Cawnpore, 307–9
Colchester, 93
Delhi, 308
Drogheda, 94
Enniskillen, 122
Gibraltar, 120–1
Gloucester, 89
Herat, 305

Sieges (*cont.*)—
Kars, 281
Kimberley, 323
Ladysmith, 322–3
Lille, 129
Lisbon, 199–200
Londonderry, 122
Lucknow, 307–9
Madras, 157
Maidstone, 93
Mantua, 187
Metz, 287
Mons, 130
Namur, 123
Newark, 91–2
Oxford, 90–2
Paardeburg, 323
Paris, 287
Pembroke Castle, 93
Plevna, 289
Pondicherri, 157–8
Quebec, 155–6
Sebastopol, 279–81
Seringapatam, 188
Thérouenne, 11
Toulon, 183
Tournai, 11
Trichinopoli, 157
Tsing-tao, 297
Turin, 129
Wexford, 94
York, 90
Yorktown, 169–70
Sikhs, the, 305–6, 308
Silesia, 147, 150, 152, 159, 296, 298
Silk-weavers of Spitalfields, 215
Silly Billy (William IV), 219
Simnel, Lambert, 6, 27
Sindh, annexation of, 305
Sindhia, Mahratta chief, 196–7
Sinking-fund, 178
Sinope, 279
Sivaji, the Mahratta, 156
Six Articles, the, 39
Six Points, the (People's Charter), 226, 232, 239
Sixtus *v.* Pope, 24
Skeffington, General, 22
Skippen, Major, 89
Slavery, Slave Trade, 62, 194, 222–3, 225, 314
Sliding Scale (corn laws), 228, 262–3
Smith, Adam, 166, 176–7, 214, 255
——, John and Tom (Charles I and Buckingham), 71
——, Sir Sidney, 189
Social Contract Theory, 180. *See also* Original Contract.
—— Democrats (Germany), 275, 288
—— and Economic History. *See* Economic History.
Socialism. *See* Socialists.
—— (France), 287
Social Legislation in United Kingdom, 253–76
—— —— Australia, 313–14
Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, 267
—— —— *Constitutional Information*, 210
—— *of the Friends of the People*, 210
Somaliland, 321
Somers, Lord, Chancellor, 119, 124, 131
Somerset, Earl of (James I's reign). *See* Ker, Robert.
——, Duke of (Anne's reign), 135
——, —— (Edward VI's reign). *See* Seymour, Edward.
Sonderbund, the, 277
Sophia, Electress of Hanover, 126, 135
Soudan, 245, 318–19
Soult, Marshal, 198–201
South Africa. *See* Africa, South.
—— African Customs Union, 326
—— —— Republic. *See* Transvaal.
—— —— Volunteers, 323
—— America, 22
—— Australia, 312
—— German Confederation, 285
—— Sea Company, 139
Southampton, 61
Southey, R., poet, 182
Southwark, 267
Spain, 6–18, 20, 25–6, 43, 49, 68, 70–3, 98, 105, 125–7, 129–30, 133–4, 138–9, 145, 153, 159–61, 168–70, 172, 187, 191–201, 213, 276, 286
Spanish American Colonies, Spanish Main, 25, 62, 98, 127, 134, 153, 159, 213

Spanish Marriage. *See* Royal Marriages.
Spanish Peril, the, 17–27
Speaker, the, 30
Speenhamland system of poor-relief, 255
Spencer, Earl (William IV's reign), 224
——, —— (Victoria's reign), 248
Spenser, Edmund (poet), 23
Spinners, distress among, 214
Spinning machinery, introduction of, 207
Spinster, origin of term, 207
Spitalfields, silk-weavers of, 215
Spithead, 187
"*Splendid isolation*," policy of, 287, 291
St. Arnaud (Marshal), 280
St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, 102
St. Charles, river, 154
St. Domingo, Island of, 98
St. Giles' Cathedral, 83
St. Helena, Isle of, 203
St. John, Henry, Viscount Bolingbroke, 128, 130–3, 135–7, 143–4, 146, 160
St. John's College, Oxford, 79
St. Kitts, Isle of, 134
St. Lawrence River, 153–5, 299–300
St. Lucia, 202
St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, 48
St. Paul's Cathedral, 53, 131, 178
Staffordshire, 209
Stage-coaches, 206
Stair, Master of, 121
Stamp duty on newspapers, 272
Standing Army, 101, 113, 119, 240. *See also* New Model Army.
Stanhope, General, 132, 138–40
Stanislaus, King of Poland, 145
Stanley, H. M., 320
——, Lord, later Lord Derby, 224, 227, 229, 230, 233–6, 238, 278, 282
Star Chamber, the, 27–9, 78, 79, 82, 85
State inspection of schools, 268
—— interference, the policy of, 258, 266–7
—— normal school, 208
State Socialism, 260
States-General (France), 179, 181
Statutes—
Abjuration (of Pretender) Act, 127
Agricultural Holdings Act, 241
Aliens Act (1793), 184
Allotments Act, 247
Amending Acts (1914), 253
American Import Duties Act, 163, 165–6
Annates, Acts of, 36, 37
Appeals, Statute of, 36, 37
Apprentices, Statute of, 58–9, 60, 214–15
Arms, Act to prevent importation of (Ireland) (1843), 229
Army Act (1870), 240
Artificers, Statute of. *See* Apprentices, Statute of.
Artisans' Dwellings Act, 241
Attainder, Irish Act of (1689), 122
Australian Commonwealth Act, 213
—— Federation enabling Act, 313
Ballot Act, 239
Benevolences, Statute against (Richard III), 71
Bill of Rights, 127
Boston Port Act, 167
Bread Scales, Act legalizing Speenhamland, 255
British North America Act, 303
Burials Act (Dissenters), 244
Church Rates Abolition Act, 239
Claim of Right, 120
Coercion Acts, 223–4, 230. *See also* Peace Preservation Acts.
Combination Laws, 214–16, 274
Confederation of South Africa Act, 324
Conventicle Act, 102-3
Copyright Acts, 272
Corn Laws, 211–12, 227-9
Corporation Act, 102, 142, 216
Corrupt Practices Act, 239
County Councils Act, 247, 257
Criminal Law Amendment Act, 274
Declaratory Act, 162

Statutes (*cont.*)—
De Facto King Statute, 8, 99
Ecclesiastical Titles Act, 233
Economical Reform Act, 171, 209
Education Act (1902), 250, 270
Elementary Education Acts, 267, 269
Elizabethan Poor Law (old Poor Law), 58–61, 78, 253
Employers' Liability Act, 244
Factory Acts, 208, 223, 253, 258–60
Five Mile Act, 104
Fox's Libel Act, 184, 272
Friendly Society Act (Trade Union), 274
General Enclosure Act (1801), 206
Gilbert's Act, 254
Ground Game Act, 244
Guild Ordinances, Statutes concerning, 56
Habeas Corpus Act, 109, 185, 212, 237
Health and Morals of Apprentices Act, 208, 214
Heresy, Statutes against, 39–42, 44
Indemnity Act (Test Act), 142, 216
—— —— (Ireland) (1798), 190
India Act (1784), 177
—— to the Crown, Act to transfer, 309
Intolerable Acts, the, 167
Irish Church Disestablishment Act, 238
—— Encumbered Estates Act, 232
—— Land Acts, 238, 243
—— Local Government Act, 249
—— Parliament Act (1719), 171
—— Tithe Act, 225
Labourers, Statutes of, 59
Labour Exchanges Act, 260
—— Laws, Disraeli's (1875–6), 274
Land Purchase Acts, 247, 249
Libraries Act, 272
Libel, law of, 184, 212, 272
Licensing Act (Press), 120, 272
Statutes (*cont.*)—
Licensing Act (Alcoholic Liquors) 241
Local Government Acts, 247–8, 257, 270
Merchandise Marks Act, 267
Merchant Shipping Act, 242
Militia to the Crown, Act to transfer control of, 240
Miners' Eight Hours Act, 260
Mines Regulation Act, 260
Monopolies, Statute against, 70
Municipal Corporations Reform Act, 224
—— —— —— —— (Ireland), 226
Mutiny Act, 119
National Insurance Act, 258, 260
Navigation Acts, 103, 142, 153, 162–3, 165–7, 215, 232, 264
—— Ordinance, 95
New Poor Law. *See* Poor Law Amendment Act (1834).
Oath of M.P., Act to modify, 223
Occasional Conformity Act, 132–3, 139
Old Age Pensions Act, 251
—— Poor Law. *See* Elizabethan Poor Law.
Parish Councils Act, 248
Parliament Act, 251–2
Peace Preservation Acts, 238, 242, 243
Penal Laws. *See* Recusancy Laws.
Penny Post, Act to establish (Budget of 1839), 226
Place Act (1708), 119
Poor Law Amendment Act (1834), 60, 223, 255–7
—— Laws, 56, 58–61, 78, 253–8
Poynings' Law, 7, 171
Præmunire, Statute of, 36
Prevention of Crimes Act, 244
Property Qualification Act, 132, 226, 239
Protection of Life and Property Act (Ireland), 243
Public Health Act, 257
—— Worship Regulation Act, 241

Statutes (*cont.*)—
Reciprocity of Duties Act, 215
Recusancy Laws, 32, 50, 51, 65–6, 61–71, 73, 124, 170, 176, 185–6, 213, 216–17
—— —— (Ireland), partly abolished, 185–6
Redistribution of Seats Act, 245
Reform Act, First, 210–11, 218–21, 223, 225–6, 232, 234, 248, 273, 276
—— ——, Second, 230, 236–7, 245, 269, 286
—— ——, Third, 245
Registration of Titles Act, 242
Regulating Act (India), 173
Relief of Distress Act (Ireland), 242
Riot Act, 138
Savile's Act (1788), 170
Schism Act, 132, 135, 139
Security, Act of (Scotland), 130
Seditious Meetings Act, 185
Septennial Act, 138, 140, 251
Settlement, Act of (1701), 126
—— —— (1662 Poor Law), 215, 253, 255
Six Acts, the, 212, 272
Slavery, slave trade and Acts to abolish, 223, 225, 314
South Africa Act (1877), 316
Spitalfields Weavers Act, 215
Stamp Act, 162, 165–6
Star Chamber Acts, 27–9, 78–9, 82, 85
Succession, Act of. *See* Settlement, Act of.
Supremacy, Act of (Henry VIII), 37
—— —— (Elizabeth), 45, 47, 52
—— —— (Ireland), 22
Supreme Court of Judicature Act (1873), 240
Test Act, 106, 107, 113, 141–2, 216, 239
Tithe Commutation Act (1836), 239
Toleration Act (1689), 119–120
Trades Disputes Act, 250
Traitorous Correspondence Act (1793), 184
Treason Felony Act, 232
Statutes (*cont.*)—
Treason Statute of Edward III, 85
Treasonable Practices Act, 185
Treasons Act, 37
Triennial Act (1641), 85, 103
—— —— (1694), 119
Truck Acts, 227
Uniformity, Act of (Edward VI), 41
—— —— (Elizabeth), 45, 47
—— —— (Charles II), 102
Union, Act of (Ireland), 190–1
—— —— (Scotland), 131
Vagrancy, Statutes against, 56
Welsh Disestablishment Act, 252–3
—— Intermediate Education Act, 270
Workhouse Act (1723), 254
Wyndham Act. *See* Land Purchase Act (1903).
Stayner, Admiral, 99
Steam, use of, 208
Steelyard, the, 6
Steenie (Buckingham), 71
Stein, Prussian Minister, 196
Stephenson, George, 206
Strachan, Sir Richard, 199
Strafford, Earl of. *See* Wentworth, Sir Thomas.
Stratford de Redcliffe. *See* Canning, Stratford.
Strickland, M.P., 31
Strikes, 215, 260, 273
Strode, Richard, case of, 30
Sturdy beggars, the, 56, 58, 60
Subahdar of Bengal, 158
—— of the Deccan, 156–7
Submission of the Clergy, 36
Suez Canal, 297, 310, 318
Suffolk, Duke of, 43
Sugar duty, 227
Sully, French Minister, 72
Sunderland, Earl of, 118, 119
Supremacy, Act of, 45–6, 48
Supreme Being, cult of the, 183
Surajah Dowlah (Bengal), 158
Suspending power, 114
Suspension of cash payments, 187
Sussex, 209
——, Duke of, 23
Sutlej, river, 306

Suttee prohibited, 306
Suzerainty over the Boer states, 315, 317
Swamping of the House of Lords, 133, 220
Sweated industries, 247, 260
Sweden, Swedes, 80, 105, 138, 196
Swift, Jonathan, 133, 135, 142
Switzerland, Swiss, 12, 191, 277, 296
Sydney, New South Wales, 311
Syndicalism, 275
Syria, 189

Tacking clauses to Money Bill, 124
Taff Vale case, 250, 275
Tagus, river, 199
Taille, the, 179
Talbot, Richard, Earl of Tyrconnell, 114, 121
Tallard, Marshal, 128
Talleyrand, Prince, 203
Tamworth Manifesto, the, 224
Tangiers, 292
Tariff for revenue only, 264
Tariff Reform, 250, 266, 326–7
Tasmania, 311
Taunton, 220
Taxation, direct. *See Hampden's case.*
——, indirect. *See Bate's case.*
Taxes on knowledge, 226, 272
Tea duty, 163, 166
Technical Education Committees, 270
Teignmouth, 123
Telegraph, telephone, 272
Telford, 206
Temple, Lord, 175
——, Sir William, 108
Tenant farmers enfranchised, 221
Tenant right, 229, 238, 243
Ten Articles, 38
Ten Hours Bill, 259
—— *Minutes Bill*, 236
Ten Pound franchise, 221
Territorial troops, 320
Tewfik, Khedive, 318–20
Texel, 187
Textile industries, 207–8
—— operatives, 260
Thames, 61
Thelwall, Radical, 184
Thessaly, 290
Thirty-nine Articles, 46, 76–7
Thistlewood, Arthur, 212
Thomson, J., poet, 143
Thorough, policy of, 82
Thoughts of the cause of the Present Discontents, 164
Three Bashaws, the, 256
Three-cornered constituencies, 237
Three F's, 243
Three-field system, 204–6
Three per cent. Consols introduced, 150
Three Resolutions, the (1629), 77
Throgmorton, Francis, 50
Ticonderoga, Fort, 154–5
Tiers-état, the, 179
Tilbury, 24
Times, the, 234, 247, 280
Tippoo Sahib, 174, 188–9, 196
Tithes, 96
Titles to land, registration of, 242
Tobago Island, 201
Toleration, 81, 93, 95–7, 101–2, 104, 106, 114, 124
Toleration, Letters on, 120
Tolpuddle, 273
Tooke, Horne, 184
Tone, Wolfe, 185–6
Tonnage and poundage, 30, 67, 73–5, 77
Tories, 110–28, 131–3, 135–44, 159–75, 185, 191, 194–5, 209–21, 223–6, 245, 258
—— (America), 169
Torres Vedras, lines of, 200
Torrington, Lord. *See* Herbert, A.
Tory Reaction, the, 159–75
Toulon, 188, 192–3
Tournai, 6, 11
Tourville, Admiral, 123
Town Councils and education, 268
—— life in early nineteenth century, 227
Towns, decay of, 55–6
Townshend, Charles, 163–4, 166
——, Lord, 138–9, 143, 204
Tractarian Movement, the, 233
Trade Boards, 260
Trade depression. *See* Commercial depression.

Trade unions, 214–16, 236, 241–2, 250, 253, 260, 272–6
—— ——, legislation affecting, 274
—— Union Junta, 273
Trades union, proposal for a, 273
Trading companies, 61
Trained Bands, the (Militia), 87–8
—— —— (London), 89
Training Colleges for teachers, 268–9
Transport in eighteenth century, 206
Transportation of convicts, 311–12
Transport Workers' Union, 275
Trans-Siberian Railway, 291
Transubstantiation, declaration on, 106
Transvaal, the, 244, 315–17, 321–5
Transylvania, 295
Travels of Arthur Young, the, 205
Treaties of Peace, Alliances, and Understandings—
Aix-la-Chapelle, 150
Algeçiras, 292, 294
Amiens, 191
Anglo-French *Entente Cordiale*, 276, 282, 287, 292
—— —— agreement, 292
—— —— alliance, 12, 98
Anglo-Japanese agreement, 291–2, 297
Anglo-Russian agreement (1907), 310
—— —— secret agreement (1878), 290
Ashburton Treaty, 303
Austro-German agreement (1879), 288
Basel, 184
Berlin, 290
Berwick, 83
Bloemfontein Convention (1854), 315
Breda, 104
Cambray, League of, 10
Campo Formio, 188
Câteau-Cambrésis, 18
Chaumont, 202
Cintra, Convention of, 198
Crespy, 15
Dover, 105, 107
Dreikaiserbund, 288
Dual alliance (France and Russia), 291
Treaties of Peace, etc. (*cont.*)—
Edinburgh, 18
Engagement, the (1648), 93
Etaples, 7
Frankfort, 234, 287
Ghent, 202
Holy Alliance, 213
Holy League, The, 11
Hubertsburg, 159
Kainardji, 279
Limerick, 122, 131
London (1827), 216
—— Convention of (1884), 317, 322
Lunéville, 185, 189
Methuen Treaty, 128
Newport (Isle of Wight), 93
Nimuegen, 107, 124
Paris (1763), 135, 160–1
—— (1814), 201–2, 314
—— (1815), 203
—— (1856), 240, 279, 281–2, 288
Partition Treaties (Poland), 181
—— —— (Spanish Empire), 125–6
Portsmouth (U.S.A.), 292
Pragmatic Sanction, 147
Pressburg, 193
Pretoria, Convention of (1881), 317
Reichenbach, 181
Ripon, 84
Russo-German Secret Treaty of Re-insurance, 288
Ryswick, 119, 124–5, 127
Sand River Convention (1852), 315
San Stefano, 289
Tilsit, 196
Treaties of 1815, 203
Triple Alliance (1668), 105
—— —— (1882), 288, 291, 295
Triple Entente, 295
Utrecht, 133–4, 138, 145, 153, 276
Vereeniging, 249, 323
Versailles, 135, 172, 299, 311
Vienna (1735), 145
Waitangi, 313
Westphalia, 94
Treaties of Reciprocity and Commerce—
Canada and United States, 302–3, 327

Treaties of Reciprocity and Commerce (*cont.*)—
Cobden Treaty (1860), 235, 265, 282
Elgin-Marcy Treaty, 302–3
Inter-colonial Treaties, 326
Pitt's Treaties, 178
United Kingdom and Belgium, 265, 326
—— —— and German Zollverein, 265, 326
—— —— and United States, 299
Tree of Reformation, 57
Trent, Council of, 18, 49
Tresham, Francis, 65
Trevelyan, Sir George Otto, 242, 244, 246
Triers, Board of, 97
Trimmer, the (Halifax), 109
Trinidad, 188, 191
Tripoli, 294
Truck, 227
Tudor, House of, 4–62
——, Henry, etc. *See* Christian names.
—— System of Government, 63
Tugenbund, the, 196
Tull, Jethro, 204
Tumble-down Dick, 100
Tunstall, Bishop, 44
Turenne, French General, 128
Turgot, French Minister, 180
Turkestan, 285
Turkey, Turks, 2, 4, 189, 196, 242, 277–81, 288–91, 293–8, 318, 320
—— Company, 67
Turnip, cultivation of, 204
Turnpike Roads, 206
Tuscany, 282
Two-power standard, 247
Tyndale's New Testament, 38
Tyrconnell, Earl of (James I's reign), 26
—— —— (James II's reign). *See* Talbot, R.
Tyrol, 193
Tyrone, Earl of. *See* O'Neill.

Udal, pamphleteer, 52
Uitlanders. *See* Outlanders.
Ulm, 193
Ulster, 23, 25, 26, 79, 185, 229, 238, 252–3
—— Volunteers, 252
Unemployment, Insurance against, 260
Unionist Party, 247–53
Union of South Africa, the, 324
—— with Ireland, 97, 190–1, 217
—— —— Scotland, 97, 130–1
Unions of Parishes, 254, 256–7
Unitarians, 42, 120
United Canada, 302
—— Empire Loyalists, 169, 299, 302
United Irishman newspaper, the, 232
United Irishmen, 185–6, 190
—— Provinces. *See* Netherlands.
—— States, 165, 195, 202, 213, 240, 264, 266, 286, 299, 301–3, 313, 318, 326–7
Universal Suffrage, 210, 226, 232
Universities, University Colleges, 239, 240, 271–2
University College, (Oxford), 114
—— Tests abolished, 239, 271
Unsectarian Education, 269
Upper Canada, 299–303
Utilitarians, the, 211
Utopia, More's, 55
Utopianism, 272–3

Vagrancy, 253. *See* also Poor Laws.
Valencia, 129
Van Diemen's Land, 312
Vane, Sir Harry, 85, 90, 95, 97
Van Parris, 42
Varennes, 181
Vaudois, 100
Venables, Admiral, 98
Vendôme, Marshal, 129, 132
Venetian Fleet wrecked, 61
Venice, Venetians, 2, 10, 188, 193, 285
Verden, 138
Vernon, Admiral, 146
Versailles, 181, 287
Vestiarian Controversies, 46, 241
Vestry, the, 61
"Veto," the, of House of Lords 132–3, 251
—— of the King, 119

Via Media, 46, 51, 54, 76. *See* also Anglican Church.
Vice-president of the Council (for Education), 268
Victor Emmanuel II, King of Italy, 282
Victor, Marshal, 199, 200
Victoria, Australia, 311–12
——, Princess Royal, 284, 286
——, Queen, 225–49, 256–75, 277–91, 300–23
Victory, the, 193
Vienna, 69, 70, 128, 193
——, Congress of, 202–3
Villars, Marshal, 130, 133
Villeneuve, Admiral, 193
Villeroy, Marshal, 129
Villiers, C. P., 263
——, George, Duke of Buckingham, 68, 71–5
Virginia, 25, 62, 165, 167, 169
—— Company, the, 165
Voltaire, 135, 154, 180
Voluntaryists, 269
Voluntary Schools, 268–9
Volunteers, Colonial, 296, 320, 323
——, English, 192, 240, 282, 320
——, Irish, 171, 252
——, Ulster, 252–3

Wages Fund theory, 262
Wages, Regulation of, by J. P.'s, 59, 214–15
Wakefield, E. G., 304, 311–13
Walcheren Expedition, 199
Wales, 88
——, Council of, 28
Walfisch Bay, 321
Walker, Obadiah, 114
Wallachia, 281, 288
Waller, Sir William, 89–91
Walpole, Horace, 152
——, Sir Robert, Earl of Orford, 138–46, 148–50, 165, 176, 204, 216
Walsingham, Sir Francis, 24, 50
Wandsworth, 245
Warbeck, Perkin, 6–8
Warburton, Bishop, 161
Warham, Archbishop, 34
Warming-Pan fable, 115
Wars—
Afghan wars, 304–5, 310
America—
War of Independence, 135, 162, 172, 203, 299
—— of 1812, 195, 202, 299
—— of Secession (1861–5), 237, 265, 284, 303
Augsburg, League of, 123
Austrian Succession, 153, 157
Austro-French War (1859). *See* Italian War.
Austro-Prussian War (1866), 285
Balkan Wars, 294–5
Bishops' Wars, 83–4
Boer War, First, 244
—— ——, Second, 249, 291, 314–15
Burmese Wars, 304, 310
Chinese Wars, 234, 282, 308, 310–11
Chino-Japanese War, 311
Civil War (Great Rebellion), 47, 88–93
Crimean War, 234, 278–82, 284
Dano-Prussian War (1864), 285–6
Egyptian War, 244
English Succession. *See* Augsburg, League of.
Franco-German War, 240, 242, 286–7
—— -Austrian War. *See* Italian War.
Hundred Years War, 3, 54
War of Independence. *See* America, Wars.
Indian Wars, 156–8, 173–5, 304–10
Italian War (1859), 288
Italo-Turkish War, 294
Jenkin's Ear. *See* Austrian Succession.
Kaffir Wars, 316
Maori Wars, 313
Napoleonic War, 182–203
Opium War, 310
Peninsular War, 197–203
Polish Succession, 145
Religion, Wars of (France), 20–1
Roses, Wars of the, 4, 55
Russo-Japanese War, 292
—— -Turkish War, 288–91

Wars (*cont.*)—
Second Hundred Years War (eighteenth century), 134
Seven Weeks War. *See* Austro-Prussian War.
—— Years War, 134, 151–9, 163
Sikh Wars, 300
Spanish Succession, 153
Thirty Years War, 69, 71–2, 80, 94
War of 1914, 253, 267, 296–8, 313–14
Zulu War, 316
Warwick, Earl of (Henry VII's reign), 5, 8
—— —— of (Edward VI's reign). *See* Dudley, John.
Washington, George, 154, 167–9
——, burning of the Capitol, 202
Water-frame, invention of the, 207
—— -power, use of, 208.
Watt, James, 208
Weald of Sussex, 208
Wealth of Nations, 176, 255
Weavers, distress among, 208
Weaving-machines, introduction of, 207–8
Wedgewood, Josiah, 209
Weekly Register, Cobbett's, 272
Wei-hai-wei, 291
Wellesley, Marquis. *See* Mornington, Lord.
——, Sir A., Duke of Wellington, 188, 196–202, 216–18, 220, 231, 262
Wellington, Duke of. *See* Wellesley, Sir A.
Wentworth, Peter, 31
——, Sir Thomas, Earl of Strafford, 74–5, 78–86, 96
Wesleyan Movement, 221–2
Wesley, Charles, 221–2
——, John, 221–2
Western Australia, 311–12
—— States of America, 153
Westminster, 13, 87, 131, 220
—— Assembly, 91–2
—— Hall, 115
Westmoreland, Earl of, 48
Westphalia, 195
Weston, Lord Treasurer, 79–81
West Riding (Yorkshire), 88, 208
Wet, de. *See* De Wet.
213, 258
Wexford, 94, 190
Wharton, Lord, 119, 131
Wheat Supply, question of, 327
Whig Junto, 119
—— Oligarchy, 136–60, 209, 221
Whigs, the, 110–27, 130–40, 152, 160–5, 171–2, 183–4, 209–36, 241, 245–6, 263–4
Whisky money, 270
Whitbread, 268
White, Sir George, 323
Whitehall, 87, 94, 112
Whitgift, Archbishop, 52–3, 64–5, 80
Wight, Isle of, 93
Wilberforce, William, 194
Wild Geese, the, 123
Wilkes, John, 161–3, 171, 210
William III, 106–7, 115–27, 130, 165, 203
—— IV, 218–25
—— I (the Silent), Prince of Orange, 20, 23, 50
—— I, German Emperor, 286–8
—— II, German Emperor, 291–4, 322
Williams, Bishop, 80
——, General, 281
Willis, Dr., 178
Wilmington, Lord. *See* Compton, Sir Spencer.
Winchester, 88
—— College, 53
Windham, William, 184
Witt, John de, 103, 105–6
Wolfe, General, 155–6, 311
Wolfe's Cove, 156
Wolseley, Sir Garnet, 317–18
Wolsey, Thomas, 11–15, 30, 34–9
Women, education of, 271
—— in coal mines, 260
—— in factories, 258–9
—— and the suffrage, 237, 295
Wood's halfpence, 142
Woodstock, 129
Wool growing, 55
Woollen industry, 207–8
Wordsworth, William, poet, 182
Workhouse test, 254, 256
Workshop of the World, the, 261–2

Worsley, 206
Writers, importance of, 111, 133
Wyatt, Sir Thomas, 43
Wyclif, John, 2, 3
Wymondham, 57
Wyndham, George, 250

Year of Victory (1759), 154
York, 56, 84, 88
——, Archbishop of, 14
——, Conference at, 47
——, House of, 1, 27
——, Richard, Duke of (son of Edward IV), 6
——, James, Duke of. *See* James II.
——, Duke (son of George III), 182, 217
Yorkshire, 208
Young, Arthur, 205
Young Ireland Movement, 232, 237–8
Young persons, meaning of, 259
Young Turks, the, 293–4, 298
Yeomanry, 57, 205
—— (volunteer cavalry), 240

Zanzibar, 321
Zemindary, 158, 173
Zimri (Buckingham II), 105
Zollverein, proposed British Imperial, 326–7
——, German, 285, 326
Zululand, 316

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON PRESS, LTD.
BY RICHARD CLAY & SONS, LTD.,
LONDON AND BUNGAY.

942
19289
STORE